

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	Personal (Partial) (1 page)	02/19/2000	P6/b(6)
002a. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul Orzulak. Subject: Revised SRB China remarks to Business Roundtable (1 page)	02/08/2000	P5
002b. statement	re: Draft National Security Advisor Samuel E. Berger remarks to the Business Roundtable on China (8 pages)	02/08/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 1] [1]

Jamie Mettrailer

2008-0702-F

jm606

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Tuesday, February 08, 2000 8:20 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @ASIA - Asian Affairs; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: Revised SRB China Remarks to Business Roundtable [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB:

With your changes, including a new beginning. Miles recommends against using the names of any Members of Congress to exemplify the eclectic coalition against this agreement. We could use "Jesse Jackson and Gary Bauer," but Reverend Jackson wouldn't be very happy about it.



srb-china2.doc

2/8/00 8:15 a.m.
Orzulak

NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO
THE BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 8, 2000

Thank you. Please forgive me if I was a few minutes late. I was trying to leave for my speech, but members of my staff only wanted to talk about which actor would be playing them in tomorrow night's episode of "The West Wing." Actually, I have a ~~problem~~ ^{problem} with that show. In the cast, they have actors who portray the President, the Vice President, the Chief of Staff, the Deputy Chief of Staff, the Press Secretary, and even the speechwriter. But ~~even though many of~~ ^{despite the fact that} ~~the~~ ^{fakeful} episodes involve foreign policy decisions -- decisions of war and peace -- there is no National Security Advisor.

It's probably just as well, considering how Hollywood has portrayed national security advisors recently. He was a stuffed shirt in "the Peacemaker." An egomaniac killed off in "Air Force One." A calculating sell-out in "Clear and Present Danger." And just last week on television, as a zealot with really bad hair in "Murder at 1600." I can't imagine who was the model for these characters, but let me stress that each of these movies was in process before I assumed the job.

It seems hard to believe that it was seven years ago when I first met with ~~some of you~~ ^{The Business Roundtable} at the start of this Administration. Back then, one of the most popular books in the nation was entitled "America: What Went Wrong?" Time Magazine ~~even~~ ^T had a story that asked the ~~question~~ ^{question}: "is the U.S. in an irreversible decline as the world's premier power." Seven years later, America is in the midst of the longest economic expansion in our history. Our military strength is unchallenged. Our alliances are strong. And our values are ascendant around the world. Today, if you ask the question: "America: What Went Right," a big part of the answer is that we have ~~a private sector~~ ^{a private sector} ~~businesses and business leaders~~ willing to take risks and do what it takes to succeed in the global

~~you all~~
economy. I want to thank ~~this organization and all your members~~ for the role you have played in creating this unprecedented moment of prosperity for our nation.

~~Tonight,~~
I want to talk to you ~~about~~ ^{critical} about a decision our country will make this year ^{that critical} is important not only for your companies and industries, but for our nation and the world: China's entry into the ~~World Trade Organization~~. ^{fact fall on negotiators completed an historic agreement with the Chinese} But before America can realize the full market-opening benefits of Chinese entry into the WTO, Congress must answer a simple question: will it grant China permanent Normal Trade Relations, ~~which is~~ [?] the same arrangement we have given to 132 of the 134 countries in the WTO. ~~Doing so is necessary to guarantee that we realize the full benefits of the agreement we negotiated with China.~~ Or will Congress turn its back on the sweeping changes China has agreed to make and risk losing ground on the issues we all care about?

~~I don't believe there can be a serious~~
~~There is no~~ question that this agreement is in America's economic interest. For years, China has had open access to our markets, while its markets have been in many ways closed to American products and American services. This agreement requires China to open its market on everything from agriculture to manufacturing to high tech – while we have agreed only to maintain the market access we already offer to China. ^{and it} ~~to directly~~ responds to concerns about unfair trade practices in China, ^{and about the danger of import surges.} For the first time, U.S. companies will be able to competitively sell and distribute in China products made by American workers here at home, rather than being forced to open factories there.

^{and I'm not going to regret it (sp?)} ^{The considerable economic}
All of you already know that, ^{But} the importance of this agreement goes beyond it manifest ^{benefits} economic benefits. When we talk to Members of Congress, most are not going to challenge us ^{because} on economic grounds. Critics ^{more} are likely to say that: China is a growing threat to Taiwan and its neighbors, and we shouldn't strengthen it. ^{or} China is a drag on labor rights and environmental standards, and we shouldn't engage it. ^{or} China is an offender of human rights, and we shouldn't reward it. ^{or} China is a dangerous proliferator, and we shouldn't empower it. ~~and~~ ^{I share}
^{are} Many, if not most, of the concerns they ~~will~~ ^{are} raise on these issues ~~will be~~ ^{are} absolutely legitimate. ^{thom.}

But this debate should not be defined ~~in terms of~~ ^{as} economic rights versus human rights – or economic security versus national security – because that is a trap, it's a false choice. Bringing China into the WTO is about ~~so much~~ ^{far} more than trade. This agreement is just as vital – if not more vital – to our national security as it is to our economic security. ^{① it is far more likely to} It will move China in the right direction – not the wrong direction – on all of ~~these~~ ^{our other} concerns. ^③ If we are going to win this debate, we must ^{be persuasive that it} carry the argument that it promotes ~~both~~ ^④ I want to talk for a few minutes tonight about how this agreement will advance our overall national interests by encouraging the right kind of change in China.

^② *Will you ~~emphasize~~ could duck these issues by saying that you're only interested in talking about economic.*

^⑤ *to go both growth and jobs in American and change progress toward change in China.*

To understand how, we need to understand the dilemma China finds itself in today. Over the last 20 years, China has made remarkable progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. But it still faces daunting economic problems. Its system is plagued by corruption. Private enterprise still accounts for less than one-third of China's economy. China's workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. Millions are migrating from the countryside, where they see no future, to the cities, where only some find work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. China clearly cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

Hence the dilemma: China's leaders realize that opening China's antiquated markets to global competition risks unleashing forces beyond ~~their~~ ^{US} control -- unemployment, social unrest, increasing domestic pressure for political change. Yet, if they don't move forward, China cannot make the next critical leap in development, because without competition from the outside, it will not build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy.

What does this mean for us? As the President said when Premier Zhu Rongji visited Washington last year, "if we've learned anything in the last few years from Japan's long recession and Russia's current economic troubles, it is that the weaknesses of great nations can pose as big a challenge as their strengths." So as we focus on the potential challenges that a strong China

could present to the United States in the future, let us not forget the risks that could be posed by a weak China, beset by internal conflicts, social dislocation, criminal activity, and large-scale emigration – a vast zone of instability in Asia.

With this agreement, China has chosen to speed the opening of its economy, despite the political risks that entails. Opponents of this agreement need to answer the question: do they really want us to reject that choice? The fact is, our interest lies in encouraging both stability and change in China by encouraging it to meet, not stifle, the growing demands of its people for openness, accountability, freedom, and reform. And bringing China into the WTO will help in three ways.

First, it will obligate China to deepen its market reforms. With lower tariffs, and greater competition, its private sector will expand; its state sector will shrink.

The introduction of competition results in natural pressure for progress. A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or state-run research institutions or universities. More and more, the best and brightest either are starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-invested companies – where they generally get higher pay, a better work environment, and a chance to get ahead based on merit, not political connections.

U.S. companies are the leaders in China in developing human resources – by emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. In turn, Chinese firms are increasingly learning that unless they change their working style and treat employees with respect, they will lose the top talent. This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should do all we can to encourage it, because it will lift the standards for Chinese workers – and their expectations.

Second, by speeding economic change, the agreement we reached has the potential to encourage China to evolve into a more open society.

[sounds like
we've
answered
"what does
it mean
to us"
with only
the
weak
china
point
Nelson
speech
suggested
this
was
only
one
alternative]

--and if they haven't they will--

In the past, the Chinese state was every citizens' employer, landlord, shopkeeper, and news provider all rolled into one. By advancing the flow of information, the pace of privatization, and the forces of competition, this agreement will accelerate a process that is removing government from vast areas of people's lives. ^{And by} ~~By~~ giving investors and property owners predictability and protection against arbitrary government action, it reinforces the idea that individuals have rights.

By opening China's telecommunications market to cutting-edge American technology and international firms, the WTO agreement will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China. A year ago, China had two million Internet addresses. Today, it has nine million. Soon, people in some of the most remote villages in interior China will have access to CNN. And as they become more mobile, more prosperous, and more aware of alternative ways of life, I believe they will seek a stronger voice in shaping their destiny.

Of course, just two weeks ago, Beijing announced that it was cracking down on the Internet. It's outrageous -- but it's also futile. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like ^{which?} putting a red flag in front of a bull. King Canute trying to still the waters. Indeed, that the Chinese government is pushing back against the increasing flow of information to the Chinese people only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and threatening to the status quo. This kind of repression is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world; it's an argument for accelerating it.

In the end, as China opens to the information economy, it can succeed only as it liberates the minds of its people and empowers the individual. You know all too well: creativity is indivisible. ^{innovative} ~~creative~~ In this age, you cannot expect people to be ~~creative~~ economically and stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and make the imperative for the right choice far more powerful.

This agreement will advance our national interests in a third way: it increases the chance that in the new century China will be on the inside of the international system, playing by the rules, instead of on the outside, denying them.

Under the terms of this agreements, some of China's most important decisions will be subject, for the first time, to the review of an international body. Why does that matter? Quite simply, it applies to China the basic principle at the heart of the concept of the rule of law: that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad, that their actions are subject to rules consistently applied. Remember, China is choosing to embrace these obligations. As China becomes a stakeholder in the WTO and other international regimes, it will be more likely to accept the legitimacy of international norms, and define its future within the global community, not outside of it.

Opponents of this agreement will counter these arguments by saying it doesn't matter what we agree to because China will just break its promises. Of course, we cannot know for sure. But we do have reasons to believe that it will comply, and mechanisms to reinforce that. First, China is pledging to open its economy and its markets not just as a means of getting in the WTO, but because most of China's leaders believe reform is in China's interest. Second, if China violates its commitments, we're still in a better position, because it will confront judgments backed by a 135-member body, rather than being able to chalk it up to supposed U.S. bullying.

Some will argue that granting China permanent normal trade relations status is granting a favor that China hasn't earned. But it's important ^{that the public} to understand what PNTR means: simply that we will give China the same tariff schedule we have given to 132 of the 134 countries in the WTO, ^{redundant} and China will do likewise for us. It would eliminate the annual vote on China's trade status, which we do not apply to any other WTO member. Some argue we need the annual vote to address other concerns we have with China, on human rights, proliferation, or religious freedom. But Congress always has the authority to address any part of our relationship with any nation,

including China. And the annual China trade vote ^{Simply is} ~~has~~ not been an effective instrument. It simply has affirmed our trading relationship with China for 20 years in a row.

Finally, others will argue that we are sacrificing human rights on the altar of trade. In fact, locking China out of the WTO would be a blow to the very cause they and we support. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside influence and ideas. And no one could possibly benefit from that except the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China itself. That's one reason reformers like Martin Lee and dissidents like Ren Wanding support this agreement.

Let me be clear: bringing China into the WTO is not, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. The reality in China today is that Chinese authorities still tolerate no organized political dissent or opposition. Because the Communist Party's ideology has been discredited in China, and because it lacks the legitimacy that can only come from democratic choice, it seeks to maintain its grip by suppressing other voice. Change will come ^{only} through a combination of internal pressures for change and external validation of its human rights struggle. And we must maintain our leadership in the latter, even as the WTO agreement contributes to the former.

That's why we named China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation; to encourage a peaceful resolution of issues with Taiwan; to urge China to be part of the solution to the problem of global climate change.

We must not and we are not relying on the market to do all our heavy lifting with China, and neither should the private sector. That's why ^{it is important for American} ~~I have asked~~ many of you who do business in China to be agents of change by being good corporate citizens. ^{heavy lifting of what?} ~~This agreement reinforces the importance of that goal, and helps bring attention to some of the one million nonprofit and social~~

~~organizations that have emerged in China who are working to reform the system from within, like the U.S. China Business Council's Legal Cooperation Fund which among other things, has an active campaign underway to encourage respect for intellectual property rights.~~

Transition
But first, we must get this agreement through the United States Congress. And we can't underestimate for a second how hard that is going to be. ~~Unlike the battle over NAFTA,~~ *have become* this fight involves two issues – China and trade -- that individually and together ~~make up~~ the third rail of American politics today. The agreement is opposed by an eclectic coalition, from labor to the religious right. It creates real splits in both parties.

I'll promise you this: the President and every key person in the Administration will undertake the most intensive effort possible. *to succeed. We've already begun.* For if we fail to obtain PNTA, ~~we risk losing~~ *we lose* the full market access benefits of the agreement. ~~You know that in a global economy, American business would~~ *with global markets, you*

~~be put at an enormous disadvantage, essentially shut off from one fifth of the world – while our~~

European, Japanese, and other competitors would be more than willing to fill the void. But let *not be the beneficiaries of the very good* me tell you what that failure would mean for our country. *But failure would be bad for our country in other ways.* On the heels of the Senate's rejection *we negotiated* last year of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, *penetrating* it would send a signal to the rest of the world *particularly after the Senate's rejection* that America truly has turned inward – which would be devastating. It would mean to all of our allies and partners that in today's global economy, America's word is not its bond.

At the moment of America's greatest strength and influence
~~We can't afford that.~~ Since President Nixon went to China in 1972, the United States has

worked for the emergence of a China that contributes to peace in Asia. A China with an economy that is open to American products, farmers, and businesses. A China whose people have access to ideas and information, that upholds the rule of law at home and adheres to global rules on everything from non-proliferation to human rights to trade. This agreement is an

look forward to working with you
unprecedented opportunity to advance all of those goals. *we must be* We are working hard to avoid letting this opportunity slip through our fingers. Thank you.

End on ⊕, not ⊖

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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001. clipping	Comments to Tom Rosshirt from Samuel Berger (2 pages)	01/18/2000	P5

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Jamie Mettrailer
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Clinton's China Two-Step

The wondrous contradictions of the Clinton administration's China policy were on full display last week. On Monday President Clinton announced an "all-out" campaign to lobby Congress to pass permanent most-favored-nation status for China. The lobbying will be rough, with a fully mobilized American business community working as the iron fist inside the administration's velvet glove. The same day Clinton kicked off his new campaign, U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Thomas Donohue warned, on cue, that members of Congress who oppose permanent trade status for China "will find themselves in an unhappy situation with the business community."

Then on Tuesday the Clinton administration announced its intention to introduce a resolution condemning China's human rights abuses at the U.N. this March. The administration suddenly wants to shine a "spotlight" on what State Department spokesman Jamie Rubin called the "serious deterioration in [China's] human rights situation." Two years ago, the administration decided against introducing such a resolution. Last year, it waited until March to do so, intentionally too late to have any chance of serious consideration. This year's early announcement presumably gives American diplomats time to actually round up some international support for a U.N. resolution condemning China's dismal record.

Some may find the juxtaposition of the two announcements a bit odd. The Clinton administration inaugurates a big push to grant China the biggest prize in the history of U.S.-Chinese economic relations and, in the next breath, singles China out for special condemnation as a world-class violator of human rights. But there was nothing coincidental about last week's announcements. The administration's tougher public stance on China's human rights abuses is an essential component of its "all-out" campaign to win congressional approval for the trade deal. The administration has a high-stakes and high-risk battle on its hands.

The vote on permanent MFN for China will not be like the annual ritual of MFN votes in recent years, when it was practically impossible for opponents to win the veto-proof two-thirds majorities in both houses necessary to defeat renewal. This year a simple majority in either house can defeat permanent MFN and hand Clinton and Al Gore an election-year humiliation. And opponents have some other things going for them. Some members who voted to renew MFN in the past will be more reluctant to vote for permanent status for China, since doing

so gives away Congress's chief lever for influencing administration policy. Big Labor, meanwhile, fresh from its "victory" at the WTO meeting in Seattle, is targeting the China deal. "We will do whatever it takes," Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa promises, and, "We will win."

The administration, therefore, has got to play a tougher game this year, but also a slicker game. It has to "address members' concerns." And if this means annoying the Chinese with a public dressing down in Geneva, so be it. The administration apparently has decided that the best strategy for winning permanent trade status for China this year will be to convince wavering members of Congress that the trade deal should be viewed as only that, a trade deal.

Clinton can't afford to let members use the trade vote to blow off steam about Chinese brutality against Falun Gong members, Christians, Tibetan Buddhists and democracy activists. When the day of the vote comes, the administration needs to be able to argue that it already is addressing the human rights problem—it is "telling it like it is"—but it is doing so in the appropriate, international forum. We'll work over the Chinese at the U.N., Mr. Congressman; you just pay attention to Mr. Donohue here.

To be sure, the Clinton administration's new political strategy requires a sacrifice, namely, the main rationale behind its policy of "economic engagement." For years, advocates of trade with China have argued that trade itself is an antidote to Chinese oppression. The more China opens itself to American goods and services, the better the chance for democracy to bloom.

Two years ago, administration officials argued that criticizing China in international forums was precisely the wrong way to go about winning greater freedom for the Chinese people. They pointed to the Chinese government's 1998 agreement to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as a great victory both

for their quiet diplomacy and for their policy of economic engagement.

Now the Clinton administration implicitly acknowledges the failure of this approach. Despite the administration's continuing policy of engagement, Rubin is compelled to note that over the past year the Chinese government "intensified its crackdown on political dissent"; initiated a "campaign to suppress the Falun Gong"; "intensified controls on unregistered churches and on the political and religious expression of ethnic minority groups, especially Tibetans"; and clamped down on the press and the Internet. The administration now admits that the only thing to do is to go back to beating the Chinese over the head publicly.

So trading with China is not quite the answer, after all. As Rubin said on Tuesday, "We engage with China to advance our national interests—as the president said yesterday, we are going to pursue the World Trade Organization issue with respect to the normal trade relations—but that doesn't mean that we have to forgo our principles." Perhaps some day we can drop the idealistic blather and admit that trade with China is not about democracy; it's about trade.

The Clinton administration's one-two punch this week is smart politics. Many members of Congress, and especially Republicans, will pay close attention to Donohue and to their big-business contributors. Others will be impressed that the Clinton administration is doing the right thing in Geneva this year, and they won't worry about motive. Perhaps the only solace opponents of Clinton's China policy can take is that in the interest of winning congressional votes, the administration finally has smoked itself out.

The writer, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will be writing a monthly column for *The Post*.

→ Tom —
see my comments
on front and
back for China
speech.
(A)

We need to take this
on directly in china speech.
Never seen our view (although I
was Ron Brown's) that trade is
a sufficient nr. policy. Yes, we believe
that over time, trade/investment have
humanizing effect (see S. Korea, to some degree
The Washington Post open to
global economy. But innovation)
Thought L.C. Post

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MONDAY, JANUARY 17, 2000

that doesn't substitute for speaking for those whose rights are abused, or against political system that brooks no opposition. Must stand for freedom and those who seek it, even if effects are not immediate. Worked for release of key dissidents. Sponsored UN resolution (even alone last year), except where we were able to use that leverage for specific objectives. (prisoners, Covenant).

How will China change? I believe by combination of internal pressures for greater freedom and external validation by international community of human rights struggle.

How should our policy be measured? Should no more measure it week to week or year to year than you could have done so in relation to Soviet Union, with whom, ~~which~~ despite posing much greater threat to U.S. than China, we engaged. ~~and~~

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Jamie Mettrailer

2008-0702-F

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2/1/00 5:30 p.m.
Orzulak

Lee
7:00 pm

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO
THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 2, 2000**

Speaking to the Wilson Center is always a challenging prospect. It brings to mind the story of the man who lived through the famous Johnstown flood. All his life, this man would stop and tell everybody he met the story of how he survived. When he died and went to heaven, he asked St. Peter to convene a crowd so he could tell them about the great flood. St. Peter said, "I'd be happy to. But you have to remember one thing -- Noah will be in the audience."

There's more than one foreign policy Noah in this distinguished audience. Indeed, Lee Hamilton himself comes with an entire Ark. For 20 years, he brought a steady hand to foreign policy in Congress, with the emphasis always on patriotism, not partisanship. I thank him for that.

Last week in his State of the Union address, the President gave a compelling summary of the challenges America will face in the 21st century world. Looking ahead, there's good reason for optimism. America is enjoying the longest economic expansion in its history. Our military strength is unchallenged. Our alliances are strong. Our values are ascendant. Eighty years after Woodrow Wilson hoped that American leadership would help make the world safe for democracy - more than half the world's people now live under governments of their own choosing.

But as the President said last Thursday, this is not a world without dangers to us. Our security can be threatened by regional conflicts that pose the risk of a wider war. The march of technology can give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and

force us to once again live in fear. The stability of the 21st Century can be threatened by an ever-widening gap between rich and poor. And of course, there is the possibility that our former adversaries Russia and China will fail to emerge in this century stable, prosperous, and democratic.

Today, I want to talk about China. Since President Nixon went to China in 1972, the United States has sought to develop a constructive relationship with Beijing, initially as a counterweight to the Soviet Union and later in recognition of China's growing importance in its own right. We have worked for the emergence of a China with an economy that is open to American products, farmers, and businesses. A China whose people have access to ideas and information. A China that upholds the rule of law at home and adheres to global rules on everything from nuclear non-proliferation to human rights to trade.

This year, we have an unprecedented opportunity to advance those goals. The opportunity, of course, is China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

But before America can realize the full market-opening benefits of Chinese entry into the WTO, Congress must answer a simple question: will it grant China permanent Normal Trade Relations status, which, in effect, is [our part of the deal we reached with China Note: certainly the Chinese see it this way, but PNTR is NOT part of our formal bilateral agreement with China, the President simply said he would do everything in his power to get it][alternative: "is necessary to guarantee we secure the full benefits of the agreement we negotiated with China"], and the same arrangement we have given to 133 of the 135 countries in the WTO [you should check this with Catharine Field at USTR, but I think it is right]? Or will Congress turn its back on the most sweeping changes China has agreed to make in decades and risk losing ground on the issues we all care about?



This will be an intense – and intensely important – debate. There are legitimate concerns about China. So let me take a few minutes today to talk about why supporting this agreement - and permanent NTR for China -- is not only in our economic interest, but, more important, is in our national security interest.

Every debate on a trade agreement must first answer the threshold question: will our economy and our workforce benefit from the terms we've negotiated, or will they suffer? From an economic perspective, there is no denying that this agreement strongly benefits the United States.

For years, China has had extraordinary access to our markets, while its markets have been in many ways closed to American products and services. Indeed, we ran a \$63 billion trade deficit with China last year – our largest with any country. [Note: citing deficit does not get us much, because our opponents do so and no one expects the deficit with China to decline as a result of this agreement, even if we are selling more to them. China is the low cost producer in Asia and production is shifting to China from other Asian countries. While our deficit with other low cost Asian producing countries will decline, exports to the U.S. from China are expected to grow, just as our exports to them will grow under this agreement. Recommend you delete reference to deficit. Opening sentence makes necessary point. Everyone knows their market is closed, and we are not going to solve the deficit with this agreement.] This agreement requires China to make sweeping new concessions to open its market to America, while we have simply agreed to maintain the market access policies we already apply to China by granting it permanent NTR. ~~make no further market opening concessions to China. Rejecting this agreement would in no way limit China's access to our markets~~ [ML Note: drop to be safe, textile interests argue that we have given up our ability to extend textile quotas beyond 2005 by bringing China into the WTO under our agreement, even though our agreement expires in 2001 and would need to be renegotiated]. Denying China PNTR ~~It would, however, simply risk~~ [Need need to use the word "risk"] depriving American companies and workers of the same

favorable market access, and recourse to effective enforcement through WTO dispute settlement, that our European, Japanese, and other competitors would have.

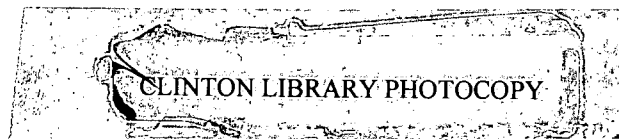
This agreement will dramatically reduce China's tariffs on everything ~~from~~ from agricultural and industrial products to computers and semiconductors. It directly responds to concerns about unfair trade practices in China -- from product dumping to technology transfers -- and gives us protections against import surges from China that we have with regard to no other country. And it allows our businesses to export to China from home, and have their own distribution in China, rather than being forced to set up factories in China to sell products there through distribution channels the Chinese control.

That is what this agreement means in principle. Here is what it means in practice.

[NOTE: Important you run the entire auto example through USTR (Novick) for a fact check if you have not already]

Consider the auto industry. Right now, a car made in Dearborn faces an 80 to 100 percent tariff before it can be sold in China -- which prices us right out of the market. So if you want to sell cars in China, you need to base your operations in China. To do that, you must form a joint venture with a Chinese middle-man, a state run enterprise and give them at least a 51% stake. You [can also be compelled to] also must transfer a huge amount of your technology to China, and teach the Chinese how to use it -- which means you are transferring both your product and your expertise to your eventual competitors. And because of local content requirements, most parts have to be made in China, too. --

In addition, Americans cannot now directly run parts distribution centers in China, so once your parts are made, the Chinese have to sell them for you. Americans are not allowed to directly own service centers, either. So you have to find another Chinese middle-man. And all this assumes that Chinese consumers can buy the cars in the first place, because the only financing



that is allowed in China is through state-run banks - and they don't make loans for cars. Little wonder that there are many times more bicycles in China than automobiles.

Under the new agreement, it's completely different. Tariffs on American cars fall by nearly 75 percent, so we can compete in Chinese markets. The requirement that we have to link up with Chinese enterprises is eliminated. So is the requirement that we have to transfer our technology. And, American manufacturers will now be free to use parts made in America for assembly in China, to set up their own distribution centers, to run their own service shops, and to provide their own financing to consumers.

From our perspective, it means that we're going to sell a lot more American cars in China, which means more jobs in America. In return, the Chinese people end up with much better products at lower prices. Take that example and multiply it out across all of our other industries - from manufacturing to high-tech to insurance to agriculture - and you begin to get an idea of what this agreement could mean to both our economies.

For our part, we must grant China permanent normal trade relations status. It's important to understand what that means: it simply means that we will give China the same tariff schedule we apply to most every other nation in the world, and China will do likewise. It would eliminate the annual vote on China MFN, which we do not apply to any other WTO member. Some have said we need the annual vote to address other concerns we have with China, on human rights, proliferation, or religious freedom. Congress always has the authority to address any part of our relationship with any nation, as well as any other part of our relationship with China or any other country. The annual MFN vote has not been an effective instrument. It has simply affirmed our trading relationship with China for ten years in a row. In many ways, ~~denying~~ laying China normal tariffs, because it has such a dramatic effect on us as well as them, makes it an ineffective remedy. What it will do is get us out of the cycle we are now in, where the future of Chinese trade comes up for a vote every single year in Congress.

The economic benefits of this deal to America are clear. If Congress votes no, we risk losing the full and enforceable market access benefits of the agreement we negotiated, as well as China
~~would not be required to give American firms the same favorable terms of access to its market as~~
~~its will to our competitors, and cancel~~ the special protections we negotiated. On a global economy, where global markets are essential, American our businesses and workers would be put at an enormous competitive disadvantage, essentially hobbled with one quarter of the world.
 It would be a self-inflicted wound that would hurt the economic health of our country.

For me, the economic benefits are only the beginning of the argument for this agreement, not the end. For I am convinced that it is as vital to our national security as it is to our economic security.

Our nation has a tremendous stake in how China evolves. Our future is substantially tied to Asia. The stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily - is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China develops, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt very far from its own borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the resiliency and stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard -- and felt? It is reforming its economy -- but will it unleash the necessary ingredient of sustained growth in the information age -- namely access to knowledge and unfettered thought? It has become deeply engaged in the international community -- but will it make a broad commitment to play by global rules and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors? Ultimately, the answers will come from China. But we have an enormous stake in encouraging it to choose the path of integration and

reform, not isolation, stagnation, and decline. And bringing China into the WTO will make a difference.

To understand why, we need to see China clearly, neither through rose-colored glasses or through the glass darkly. We need to look its progress and its problems, its system and its strains, its policies and its perceptions of us, of itself, and the world.

In the last 20 years, China has made remarkable progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. One remarkable result is that China now has the largest wireless communications market in the world, adding the equivalent of a Baby Bell to their telephone system every year.

But China faces daunting problems as well. Its working age population is increasing by more than 12 million people - equal to the population of New England - every year. Tens of millions of peasants are migrating from the countryside, where they see no future, to the city, where only some find work. China's political system has become plagued by corruption. Its air is so dirty that 25 percent of all deaths in China over the age of five come from chronic respiratory disease, four times the rate of the United States. And China's economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create jobs for the unemployed and maintain support for economic reform.

For all the progress of China's reforms, private enterprise still accounts for less than one-third of its GDP. China state banks are still making massive loans to struggling state firms, the sector of the economy least likely to succeed.

China's top leaders understand that such change is both essential and risky. It is risky because economic reform and opening China's antiquated economy to global competition is likely to cause more short-term unemployment and the specter of social unrest. But, interestingly, China's leaders also understand that it is essential because China cannot make the next leap in

economic development without world-class industries and products that can compete in the global economy. In other words, it simply cannot ensure stability by maintaining the status quo.

What does this mean for us? As the President has said, "if we've learned anything in the last few years from Japan's long recession and Russia's current economic troubles, it is that the weaknesses of great nations can pose as big a challenge to America as their strengths." So as we focus on the potential challenge that a strong China could present to the United States in the future, let us not forget the risk of a weak China, beset by internal conflicts, social dislocation and criminal activity, large-scale illegal emigration, becoming a vast zone of instability in Asia.

Our interest lies in encouraging both stability and change in China by encouraging it to meet, not stifle, the growing demands of its people for openness, accountability and reform. Bringing China into the WTO will help in three ways.

First, this is not simply an agreement to expand trade between our two countries. It will obligate China to deepen its market reforms, and empower leaders who want their country to move further and faster toward economic freedom.

Premier Zhu Rongji and other reform-minded leaders in China understand that lowering tariffs and other barriers exposes China's state-run industries to competition; many will not be able to compete without fundamental changes in ownership and management. But they also understand that forcing firms to compete is something China must do to sustain its growth. With this WTO agreement, they have chosen to continue opening their economy, despite the risks that path entails. Do we really want to reject this choice?

The introduction of competition results in natural pressure for progress. A decade ago, China's best and brightest college graduates sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or state-run research institutions or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either

starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-invested companies -- where they generally get higher pay, a better work environment, and a chance to get ahead based on merit, not political connections.

Industry surveys show that U.S. companies are the leaders in the Chinese market in developing human resources -- by emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. More and more, Chinese firms are learning that unless they change their working style and treat employees with respect, they will lose out in the critical war for top talent. This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should do all we can to encourage it.

Second, by accelerating economic change, the agreement we reached also has the potential to catalyze China to evolve into a more open and free society.

In ways that are halting, incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, China's economic opening has already given its people greater scope to live their lives as they see fit. Take Shanghai, for example, the city that has been most open to international influence. Ten years ago, it was illegal for people in China to own their own homes. Today, 25 percent of Shanghai residents are homeowners. Ten years ago, there were no supermarkets, and citizens had to buy food from state-run outlets using coupons. Today, there are more than 1,000 supermarkets and no more rationing of food. A decade ago, Chinese citizens could rarely travel in or out of their own country. Last year, on New Year's Day, airlines added more than 250 flights to international destinations from Shanghai alone. Nationwide, China has seen the emergence of more than 200,000 professional associations, consumer groups, tenant organizations, environmental groups, plus an explosion of print and broadcast media, and local elections in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

Let us understand very clearly: these developments do not mean that the people of China enjoy political freedom. Chinese authorities still tolerate no organized political dissent or opposition,

and no challenge – real or imagined – to the Communist Party. Over the past year, we have seen an increase in its crackdown on political activities and dissent, including a harsh campaign to suppress the Falun Gong; stepped-up controls on unregistered churches, the suppression of ethnic minority groups, especially Tibetans; the imprisonment of even more dissidents whose only crime is free expression and free speech. And of course, just last week, Beijing announced that the government was cracking down on the Internet. Because the Communist Party's ideology has largely been discredited in China, and because it lacks the legitimacy that can only come from democratic choice, it seeks to maintain its grip by suppressing other voices.

So let me make very clear: This agreement is not a human rights policy for the United States. That is why we must and will continue to speak out on behalf of the people in China who are persecuted for their political and religious beliefs. That is why we worked hard for the release of Dickinson College librarian Song Yongyi, who was released just last week in Beijing. That's why we sponsored a resolution last year in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record last year and why we're doing it again this year. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation; to encourage a peaceful resolution of issues with Taiwan; to urge China to be part of the solution to the problem of global climate change.

Constant pressure is required in all these areas. But the liberalizing effect of bringing China into the WTO will surely complement our efforts.

In the past, the Chinese state was every citizen's employer, landlord, shopkeeper, and news provider all rolled into one. By advancing privatization, this agreement will accelerate a process that is removing government from vast areas of people's lives.

By giving investors and property owners predictability and protection against arbitrary government action, it reinforces the idea that individuals have rights. Already, under the

Chinese legal system, between 30,000 and 40,000 citizens bring suit against the government every year, but not many prevail. This will give added impetus to those trying to strengthen the Chinese legal system in a way that allows citizens to hold their government truly accountable.

Finally, by opening China's telecommunications market to American technology and American firms, the WTO agreement will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China. A year ago, China had two million Internet users. Today, it has nine million. Soon, people in some of the most remote villages in interior China will have access to CNN. And as they become more mobile, more prosperous, and more aware of alternative ways of life, they will seek a stronger voice in shaping their destiny.

When you think about it, it is outrageous that the Chinese authorities are cracking down on the Internet. But it's also futile. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to a wall. [ZING!!!! Bravo!] Indeed, the fact that the Chinese government is pushing back against the increasing flow of information to the Chinese people only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and deeply threatening to the status quo. This kind of repression is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world; it's an argument for accelerating it.

In the end, Chinese leaders must come to understand: as China opens to the information economy, it can succeed only as it liberates the mind and empowers the individual. In the information age, you cannot expect people to be creative economically and repressed politically. Nations that are finding success in the global economy encourage creative thinking and risk taking. They are driven by knowledge and so they invest in education. And nations that adjust best to the global economy discover that people are far more willing to tolerate wrenching economic change when they have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Compare the fates of the governments of Indonesia and South Korea as they faced the Asian financial crisis. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will make the right choice for political

reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and make the imperative for that choice far more powerful.

This agreement will advance our national security interests in a third way as well: it increases the chance that in the new century China will be on the inside of the international system, playing by the rules, instead of on the outside, denying them.

Under the terms of this agreement, the Chinese government is obliged to publish laws and regulations and subjects some of its most important decisions, for the first time, to the review of an international body. Why does that matter?

Quite simply, it applies to China the basic principle at the heart of the concept of the rule of law: that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad, that their actions are subject to limits and to rules consistently applied. Remember, China is choosing to embrace these obligations. As China becomes a stakeholder in the international system, it will be less likely to see that system and its values as alien, and more likely to accept the legitimacy of international norms in other areas, such as non-proliferation and human rights.

I know some will say that if China is allowed to join the WTO, it will actually undermine our effort to strengthen global norms in two very important areas: labor rights and the environment. But the fact is, most members of the WTO are already developing countries, and most are already skeptical of introducing those issues into the discussion. China's membership won't change that equation. And considering the fact that China is home to one-fifth of the world's workers and the source of a rising share of global greenhouse gas emissions, it is hard to imagine an effective global effort to meet these challenges without China. Trying to make necessary progress on ~~enforce~~ labor and the environment ~~standards~~ [Note: standards is a dirty word to the developing world, and we do not want to scare more than we did in Seattle with the out of context POTUS comment] in an international system that does not include China would be like

trying to defend against the LA Lakers, but leaving Shaquille O'Neal unguarded. He's the one that has the potential to do the greatest damage.

It's fair to ask: how do we know China will do what it promised to do in the agreement we signed? Of course, we cannot know for sure. But we do have reasons to believe that it will.

First, China is pledging to open its economy and its markets not just as a means of getting in the WTO, but because most of its leaders believe reform is in China's interest. I find it encouraging that in recent months the Chinese have asked for our advice and technical assistance to better understand and live up to the terms of the WTO agreement.

Second, as a member of the WTO, China must submit disputes to that body for adjudication. If China violates its trade responsibilities under the WTO, it will confront judgments backed by a 135-member body, rather than being able to chalk up friction to supposed U.S. bullying. Right now, if China treats our products unfairly, we have no recourse, short of pulling the plug on trade. This agreement increases our leverage with China in the event of a future trade dispute on everything from intellectual property to dumping. And it gives the forces of reform within China greater leverage to insist that China move in the right direction.

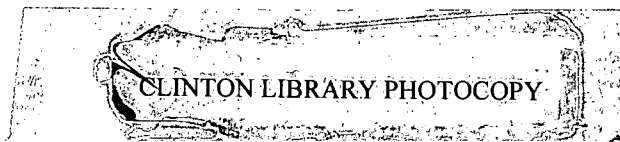
How will China change? I believe it will be a combination of internal pressures for greater voice and external validation of the human rights struggle by the international community. The WTO agreement will contribute to the former while we will maintain our leadership role in the latter. Our policy should no more be measured week to week or year to year than you could have measured our policy toward the Soviet Union - with which we continued to engage, even though it posed a much greater threat to us than China does today.

In other words, we must and will continue to protect our interests with firmness and candor. But we must do so without isolating China from the global forces empowering its people to build a

better future. That would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside influence and ideas. No one could possibly benefit from that except for the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China itself. Let's not give them a victory by locking China out of the WTO.

The question is not whether or not this trade agreement by itself will cure serious and disturbing issues of economic and political freedom in China; the issue is whether it will push things in the right direction. President Clinton believes it will. Some of the most courageous proponents of change in China agree. Martin Lee, leader of Hong Kong's Democratic party, supports this agreement; he says that without entry to the WTO, "any hope for the political and reform process would also recede. And Chinese dissident Ren Wandong said upon the deal's completion: "Before, the sky was black. now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

It is our shared conviction that supporting this agreement is a new beginning. It is the right thing for America, and the right thing for China. It will move China toward becoming what we have worked to build the past three decades -- a more open, prosperous, and eventually democratic China. Let us have the wisdom to choose wisely. Thank you.



2/1/00 2:00 p.m.
Orzulak

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO
THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 2, 2000**

Lieberthal

7:00

pm

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Speaking to the Wilson Center is always a challenging prospect. It brings to mind the story of the man who lived through the famous Johnstown flood. All his life, this man would stop and tell everybody he met the story of how he survived. When he died and went to heaven, he asked St. Peter to convene a crowd so he could tell them about the great flood. St. Peter said, "I'd be happy to. But you have to remember one thing - Noah will be in the audience."

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But as the President said last Thursday, this is not a world without dangers to us. There is the prospect that our security will be threatened by regional conflicts that pose the risk of a wider war. There is the danger that the march of technology will give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses and force us to once again live in fear. There is a chance that

the stability of the 21st Century will be threatened by an ever-widening gap between rich and poor. And of course, there is the possibility that our former adversaries Russia and China will fail to emerge in this century as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States.

Today, I want to talk about China. Since President Nixon went to China in 1972, the United States has sought to develop a constructive relationship with Beijing, initially as a counterweight to the Soviet Union and later in recognition of its growing importance in its own right. We have tried to encourage the emergence of a China with an economy that is open to American products, farmers, and businesses. A China whose people have access to ideas and information. A China that upholds the rule of law at home and adheres to global rules on everything from nuclear non-proliferation to human rights to trade.

This year, we have an unprecedented opportunity to advance those goals. The opportunity, of course, is China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

But before America can realize the benefits of Chinese membership in this institution, Congress must answer a simple question: will it grant China permanent Normal Trade Relations status, which, in effect, is our part of the deal we reached, and the same arrangement we have given to ^{132 of the 134 other} ~~every other country~~ in the WTO? Or will Congress turn its back on the most sweeping changes China has agreed to make in decades and actually risk losing ground on the issues we care about?

This will be an intense – and ^{immensely} ~~intensely~~ important – debate. People on both sides of the aisle have legitimate concerns about China. But let me take a few minutes today to talk about why supporting this agreement – and permanent NTR for China -- ^{is not only} ~~is not only~~ in our economic interest, but, more important, is in our national security interest.

Every debate on a trade agreement begins with a simple question: will our economy and our workforce benefit from the terms we've negotiated, or will they suffer? From an economic perspective, there is no denying that this agreement strongly benefits the United States.

For years, China has had extraordinary access to our markets, while its markets have been in many ways closed to American products and services. Indeed, we ran a ~~\$71.5~~^{\$63} billion trade deficit with China last year – our largest. This agreement requires China to make major new concessions to open its market to America, but we make no new market-opening concessions to China. So rejecting this agreement would in no way limit China's access to our markets. It would only continue to limit our access to China, ensuring that our trade deficit remains high.

This agreement will dramatically reduce China's tariffs on everything from agricultural and industrial products to computers and semiconductors. It directly responds to concerns raised by Republicans and Democrats alike about unfair trade practices in China – from product dumping to technology transfers – that drains jobs, investment and technology from the United States. And it allows our businesses to export to China from home, rather than being forced to set up factories in China to sell products there.

That is what this agreement means in principle. Here is what it means in practice.

Consider the auto industry. Right now, a car made in Dearborn faces an 80 to 100 percent tariff before it can be sold in China --which prices us right out of the market. So if you want to sell cars in China, you need to base your operations in China. To do that, you must form a joint venture with a Chinese middle-man, a state run enterprise and give them at least a 51% stake. You also must to transfer a huge amount of your technology to China, and teach the Chinese how to use it -- which means you are transferring both your product and your training to your eventual competitors. ~~It's also against the law in China to import American car parts, so you~~

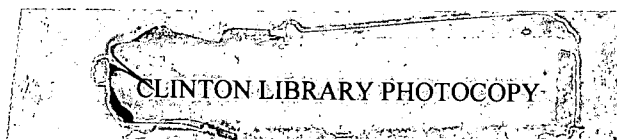
have to work with Chinese vendors to set up components processors, and train them how to make those, too.

In addition, Americans are not allowed to directly run distribution centers in China, so once your parts are made, ^{partner} the Chinese have to sell them for you. Americans are not allowed to directly own service centers, either. ~~So you have to find another middle-man.~~ And all this assumes that Chinese consumers can buy the cars in the first place, because the only financing that is allowed in China is through state-run banks - and they don't make loans for cars. Little wonder that there are many times more bicycles in China than automobiles.

Under the new agreement, it's completely different. Tariffs on American cars fall by nearly 75 percent, so we can compete in Chinese markets. The requirement that we have to link up with Chinese enterprises is eliminated. So is the requirement that we have to transfer our own technology. And, American manufacturers will now be free to use parts made in America for assembly in China, to set up their own distribution centers, to run their own service shops, and to provide their own financing to consumers.

From our perspective, it means that we're going to sell a lot more American cars in China, which means more jobs in America. In return, the Chinese people end up with much better products at lower prices. Take that example and multiply it out across all of our other industries - from manufacturing to high-tech to insurance to agriculture - and you begin to get an idea of how much this deal could mean to both our economies.

To get these benefits, all we are required to do is to grant China permanent normal trade relations status, to bring China into the WTO. It's important to understand what that means: permanent NTR is not a favor to China, it is the best way to level the playing field. And it is a reciprocal agreement (yes, China must also grant us PNTR). It simply means that we will give



China the same tariff schedule we apply to most every other nation in the world, and China will do likewise. If we do not do this, WTO rules do not apply to our access to the Chinese market.

Of course, passing permanent NTR with China does not mean that Congress is permanently barred from ever revisiting the issue of Chinese trade. Congress always has the authority to adjust our trading relationships with any nation, as well as any other part of our relationship with China, and that's the way it should be. What it will do is get us out of the cycle we are now in, where the future of Chinese trade comes up for a vote every single year in Congress.

The economic benefits of this deal to America are clear. If Congress votes no, it would deny American firms the ability to enter the Chinese market under WTO rules, and cancel the special protections that we negotiated. As a result, Americans would almost certainly be put at a tremendous competitive disadvantage against European and Japanese competitors as they stake out privileged positions in one of the 21st Century's biggest markets.

For me, that is the beginning of the argument for this agreement, not the end. For I am convinced that it is as vital to our national security as it is to our economic security.

As a nation, we have a tremendous stake in how China evolves. Our future is substantially tied to Asia. The stability of Asia – economically, politically and militarily - is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China, the largest nation in the world. As China develops, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt very far from its own borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms; but will it gain the resiliency and stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard -- and felt? It is reforming its economy; but will it unleash the necessary ingredient of sustained growth in the information age -- namely access to knowledge and unfettered thought? It has become deeply engaged in the

international community; but will it make a commitment to play by global rules and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger; but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or will it threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors? Ultimately, the answers will come from China. But we have an enormous stake in encouraging it to choose the path of integration and reform, not ^{confrontation} isolation, stagnation, and decline. And bringing China into the WTO will help.

To understand why, we need to see China clearly, neither through rose-colored glasses or through the glass darkly. We need to look ^{at} its progress and its problems, its system and its strains, its policies and its perceptions of us, of itself, and the world.

In the last 20 years, China has made remarkable progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. One remarkable result is that China now has the largest wireless communications market in the world, adding the equivalent of a Baby ^{it} Bell to their telephone system every year. ^{and}

But China faces daunting problems as well. Its working age population is increasing by more than 12 million people - equal to the population of New England - every year. Tens of millions of peasants are migrating from the countryside, where they see no future, to the city, where only some find work. China's political system has become plagued by corruption. Its air is so dirty that 25 percent of all deaths in China over the age of five come from chronic respiratory disease, four times the rate of the United States. And China's economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create jobs for the unemployed and maintain support for economic reform.

For all the progress of China's reforms, private enterprise still accounts for less than one-third of its GDP. ^{is} China state banks are still making massive loans to struggling state firms, the sector of the economy least likely to succeed.

~~China's top leaders understand that far-reaching economic changes are necessary. But they also know~~
China's top leaders understand ~~that far-reaching economic changes are~~ both essential and risky. ^{Such change} It is risky because economic reform and opening China's antiquated economy to global competition is likely to cause more short-term unemployment and the specter of social unrest. But, interestingly, China's leaders also understand ^{this change} that it is essential because China cannot make the next leap in economic development without world-class industries and products that can compete in the global economy. In other words, it simply cannot ensure stability by maintaining the status quo.

What does this mean for us? As the President has said, "if we've learned anything in the last few years from Japan's long recession and Russia's current economic troubles, it is that the weaknesses of great nations can pose as big a challenge to America as their strengths." So as we focus on the potential challenge that a strong China could present to the United States in the future, let us not forget the risk of a weak China, beset by internal conflicts, social dislocation and criminal activity, large-scale illegal emigration, becoming a vast zone of instability in Asia.

Our interest lies in encouraging both stability and change in China by encouraging it to meet, not stifle, the growing demands of its people for openness, accountability and reform. Bringing China into the WTO will help in three ways.

First, this is not simply an agreement to expand trade between our two countries. It will obligate China to deepen its market reforms, and empower leaders who want their country to move further and faster toward economic freedom.

Premier Zhu Rongji and other reform-minded leaders in China understand that lowering tariffs and other barriers exposes China's state-run industries to competition; many will not be able to compete without fundamental changes in ownership and management. But they also understand that forcing firms to compete is something China must do to sustain its growth. With this WTO agreement, they have chosen to continue opening their economy, despite the risks that path entails. Do we really want to reject this choice?

The introduction of competition results in natural pressure for progress. A decade ago, China's best and brightest college graduates sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or state-run research institutions or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-invested companies -- where they generally get higher pay, a better work environment, and a chance to get ahead based on merit, not political connections.

Industry surveys show that U.S. companies are the leaders in the Chinese market in developing human resources -- by emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. More and more, Chinese firms are learning that unless they change their working style and treat employees with respect, they will lose out in the critical war for top talent. This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should do all we can to encourage it.

Second, by accelerating economic change, the agreement we reached also has the potential to catalyze China to evolve into a more open and free society.

more - say
 In ways that are halting, incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, China's economic ^{reform and} opening ^{has} already given its people greater scope to live their lives as they see fit. Take Shanghai, for example, the city that has been most open to international influence. Ten years ago, it was illegal for people in China to own their own homes. Today, 25 percent of Shanghai residents are homeowners. Ten years ago, there were no supermarkets, and citizens had to buy food from state-run outlets using coupons. Today, there are more than 1,000 supermarkets and no more rationing of food. A decade ago, Chinese citizens could rarely travel in or out of their own country. Last year, on New Year's Day, airlines added more than 250 flights to international destinations from Shanghai alone. Nationwide, China has seen the emergence of more than 200,000 professional associations, consumer groups, tenant

organizations, environmental groups, ~~plus~~ an explosion of print and broadcast media, and local elections in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

Let us understand very clearly: these ^{changes} developments do not mean that the people of China enjoy political freedom. Chinese authorities still tolerate no organized political dissent or opposition, and no challenge – real or imagined – to the Communist Party. Over the past year, we have seen an increase in its crackdown on political activities and dissent, including a harsh campaign to suppress the Falun Gong, stepped-up controls on unregistered churches, the suppression of ethnic minority groups, especially Tibetans; the imprisonment of even more dissidents whose only crime is free expression and free speech. And of course, just last week, Beijing announced that the government was cracking down on the Internet. Because the Communist Party's ideology has largely been discredited in China, and because it lacks the legitimacy that can only come from democratic choice, it seeks to maintain its grip by suppressing other voices.

So let me make very clear: This agreement is not a human rights policy for the United States. That is why we must and will continue to speak out on behalf of the people in China who are persecuted for their political and religious beliefs. That is why we worked hard for the release of Dickinson College librarian Song Yongyi, who was released just last week in Beijing. That's why we sponsored a resolution last year in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record last year and why we're doing it again this year. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation; to encourage a peaceful resolution of issues with Taiwan; to urge China to be part of the solution to the problem of global climate change.

Constant pressure is required in all these areas. But the liberalizing effect of bringing China into the WTO will surely complement our efforts.

In the past, the Chinese state was every citizens employer, landlord, shopkeeper, and news provider all rolled into one. By advancing ^{marketization and} privatization, this agreement will accelerate a process that is removing government from vast areas of people's lives.

Weak { By giving investors and property owners predictability and protection against arbitrary government action, it reinforces the idea that individuals have rights. Already, under the Chinese legal system, between ^{hundreds of thousands} ~~30,000 and 40,000~~ citizens bring suit against the government every year, but not many prevail. This will give added impetus to those trying to strengthen the Chinese legal system in a way that allows citizens to hold their government truly accountable.

*gov. is not
under the law*

Finally, by opening China's telecommunications market to American technology and American firms, the WTO agreement will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China. A year ago, China had two million Internet users. Today, it has nine million. Soon, people in some of the most remote villages in interior China will have access to CNN. And as they become more mobile, more prosperous, and more aware of alternative ways of life, they will seek a stronger voice in shaping their destiny.

When you think about it, it is outrageous that the Chinese authorities are cracking down on the Internet. But it's also futile. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to a wall. Indeed, the fact that the Chinese government is pushing back against the increasing flow of information to the Chinese people only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and deeply threatening to the status quo. This kind of repression is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world; it's an argument for accelerating it.

In the end, Chinese leaders must come to understand: as China opens to the information economy, it can succeed only as it liberates the mind and empowers the individual. In the information age, you cannot expect people to be creative economically and repressed politically.

Nations that are finding success in the global economy encourage creative thinking and risk taking. They are driven by knowledge and so they invest in education. And nations that adjust best to the global economy discover that people are far more willing to tolerate wrenching economic change when they have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Compare the fates of the governments of Indonesia and South Korea as they faced the Asian financial crisis. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will make the right choice for political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and make the imperative for that choice far more powerful.

This agreement will advance our national security interests in a third way as well: it increases the chance that in the new century China will be on the inside of the international system, playing by the rules, instead of on the outside, denying them.

Under the terms of this agreement, the Chinese government is obliged to publish laws and regulations and subjects some of its most important decisions, for the first time, to the review of an international body. Why does that matter?

Quite simply, it applies to China the basic principle at the heart of the concept of the rule of law: that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad, that their actions are subject to limits and to rules consistently applied. Remember, China is choosing to embrace these obligations. As China becomes a stakeholder in the international system, it will be less likely to see that system and its values as alien, and more likely to accept the legitimacy of international norms in other areas, such as non-proliferation and human rights.

I know some will say that if China is allowed to join the WTO, it will actually undermine our effort to strengthen global norms in two very important areas: labor rights and the environment. But the fact is, most members of the WTO are already developing countries, and most are already skeptical of introducing those issues into the discussion. China's membership won't

change that equation. And considering the fact that China is home to one-fifth of the world's workers and the source of a rising share of global greenhouse gas emissions, it is hard to imagine an effective global effort to meet these challenges without China. Trying to enforce labor and environmental standards in an international system that does not include China would be like trying to defend against the LA Lakers, but leaving Shaquille O'Neal unguarded. He's the one that has the potential to do the greatest damage.

It's fair to ask: how do we know China will do what it promised to do in the agreement we signed? Of course, we cannot know for sure. But we do have reasons to believe that it will.

First, China is pledging to open its economy and its markets not just as a means of getting in the WTO, but because most of its leaders believe reform is in China's interest. I find it encouraging that in recent months the Chinese have asked for our advice and technical assistance to better understand and live up to the terms of the WTO agreement.

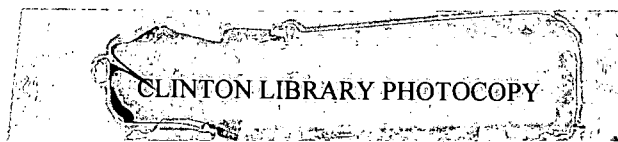
Second, as a member of the WTO, China must submit disputes to that body for adjudication. If China violates its trade responsibilities under the WTO, it will confront judgments backed by a 135-member body, rather than being able to chalk up friction to supposed U.S. bullying. Right now, if China treats our products unfairly, we have no recourse, short of pulling the plug on trade. This agreement increases our leverage with China in the event of a future trade dispute on everything from intellectual property to dumping. And it gives the forces of reform within China greater leverage to insist that China move in the right direction.

How will China change? I believe it will be a combination of internal pressures for greater voice and external validation of the human rights struggle by the international community. The WTO agreement will contribute to the former while we will maintain our leadership role in the latter. Our policy should no more be measured week to week or year to year than you could have measured our policy toward the Soviet Union - with which we continued to engage, even though it posed a much greater threat to us than China does today.

In other words, we must and will continue to protect our interests with firmness and candor. But we must do so ^{by encouraging} ^{engagement with} without isolating China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future. ^{To do otherwise} That would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside influence and ideas. No one could possibly benefit from that except for the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China itself. Let's not give them a victory by locking China out of the WTO.

The question is not whether or not this trade agreement by itself will cure serious and disturbing issues of economic and political freedom in China; the issue is whether it will push things in the right direction. President Clinton believes it will. Some of the most courageous proponents of change in China agree. Martin Lee, leader of Hong Kong's Democratic party, supports this agreement; he says that without entry to the WTO, "any hope for the political and reform process would also recede. And Chinese dissident Ren Wanding said upon the deal's completion: "Before, the sky was black. now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

It is our shared conviction that supporting this agreement is a new beginning. It is the right thing for America, and the right thing for China. It will move China toward becoming what we have worked to build the past three decades -- a more open, prosperous, and eventually democratic China. Let us have the wisdom to choose wisely. Thank you.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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001. statement	re: Draft National Security Advisor Samuel R. Berger remarks to the East Asia Institute at Columbia University on China (13 pages)	05/01/2000	P5

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Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
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5/1/00 12:30 p.m.

Orzulak

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO THE EAST ASIA INSTITUTE
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
ON CHINA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MAY 2, 2000**

[As some of you might have read, the President gave his last speech this weekend to the Radio and Television Correspondents dinner. What made the evening really strange was the fact that nearly the entire cast of the "West Wing" was sitting in the audience.

Last Friday, the creator of the West Wing, Aaron Sorkin, was at the White House. What has always gotten my goat about that show is that even though nearly half the episodes involve foreign crises, there is no National Security Advisor. So last Friday, I took the opportunity to chew him out. But then, a member of my staff reminded me about how Hollywood has portrayed National Security Advisors in the past. He was a stuffed shirt in "the Peacemaker." An egomaniac killed off in "Air Force One." A calculating sell-out in "Clear and Present Danger." And a zealot with really bad hair in "Murder at 1600." At that point, I decided that maybe it wasn't such a bad idea not to have one after all.]

*pretty much
of this.
if nothing
better,
drop*

It's an honor for me to be here today. At a time when our nation is debating an agreement that will affect our relationship with China for at least the next 25 years, it seems appropriate to come to a place that has contributed so much to our understanding of Asia and its role in the world.

[I know that many of the students who will be graduating from this school in two weeks participated in some of the same time-honored foreign policy rituals that my fellow students participated in years ago. For instance, when I was in school, students who

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majoring in international relations used to wear it as a badge of honor if they could get through four years without ever having to study an econometric model.

little abrupt
~~In two weeks, they class of 2000 graduates~~
But the students who will be graduating from this school in two weeks are entering a world in which globalization has not only shrunk the map; it has fundamentally altered the way we see the world. We live in a world defined ~~as much~~ by global markets ~~and~~ geopolitics, megabytes as well as megatons

So it comes as no surprise that the debate over whether or not we will grant China permanent normal trade relations status -- called PNTR -- and support its entry into the World Trade Organization is seen by many as ~~fundamentally~~ ^{essentially} a trade debate: Will our workers benefit or won't they? Will we gain jobs or lose them? Will our economy reap the rewards or suffer the consequences. I believe the answers to those questions are clear.

^{WTO}
The agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO requires ^{China} it to open its markets in sweeping ways to our products and services. Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications to agriculture, will fall by half or more over the next five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers in America, without being forced to relocate to China. We ^{will have} ~~get~~ better access to a market of over a billion people ^{and} that will result in ^{American} exports, ~~and~~ growth and jobs. At the same time, ^{also} this agreement provides new safeguards against any surges of imports from China.

^{for American producers}
In return, all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already offer to China and treat China the same as the other 132 WTO members whose trade status is not subject to yearly renewal. That's it. We do not lower our tariffs one cent. ~~And we~~ do not in any way, shape or form make it easier for China to sell products in America.

~~And~~ Keep in mind: China will enter the WTO whether we pass PNTR or not. What the Congress must decide is whether America will gain the benefits of the agreement we negotiated, or whether we will forfeit those benefits to our competitors in Europe and Japan. The issue is whether, having opened the door of the world's largest market, we are simply going to hold it open for our competitors or walk in ourselves.

Some say that rejecting PNTR for China is simply a vote for the ~~status quo~~ ^{economic}. I disagree: it would be ^{far} worse than the status quo. In the global economy, companies must produce for global markets to remain competitive. There is no status quo on this: the issue is whether we are going to move ahead or fall behind. Remember, fully one-third of America's new jobs in this decade are tied to exports. We cannot afford to take our prosperity for granted; it depends on what we do, not who we are.

There are others who say we should just wait a while: depending on how China behaves, we can approve PNTR in three or four years. But we cannot afford to give European and Japanese producers a three or four year head start, during which fundamental decisions will be made by China on the future of its telecommunications market and other sectors, without paying a heavy price.

In short, the economic arguments for PNTR are overwhelming. But they are ^{only part of} ~~far from the~~ ^{the reason why we should move forward. The United States has a} ~~only arguments. Indeed, from my point of view as National Security Advisor, there are~~ ^{compelling national security interest in [China/PNTR]} ~~arguments even more compelling. This is a critical issue for our national security.~~

Remember: We have the luxury to focus on expanding prosperity and seeking out new markets today because ^{the} ~~our~~ hard-won victory in the Cold War made possible a world that is largely at peace, a world in which our values of democracy and openness are ascendant. But this is not a world without dangers. That is especially true in Asia - with tensions across the Taiwan Straits, on the Korean Peninsula, in South Asia, and elsewhere.

The United States is a Pacific nation. We have fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Our future is tied to Asia. And the stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily -- is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China develops over the next ~~5, 10, 20 years~~ ^{decade,} the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt far from its borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard? It is reforming its economy ^{essential} but will it unleash the ingredient ~~necessary~~ for sustained growth in the information age? Namely access by its people to knowledge and innovative thought? It has become deeply engaged in the world -- but will it make a broad commitment to ~~play by~~ ^{work within the global system} global rules and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors?

Access to thought?

These are the real questions ~~before~~ ^{And the} today: How will China evolve, both internally and in the way it relates to the world? ~~The~~ question for us is: how do we best encourage China to evolve in a constructive direction? It is my strong conviction that if China joins the WTO and we approve PNTR, it is more likely to emerge as a more open, stable, cooperative nation that plays by the rules of the international system and provides greater freedom to its people. If we reject PNTR, I am equally convinced that we will ~~undercut~~ ^{undercut} that goal and damage our national security. Let me explain why.

Stronger and more secure?

As we debate the future of our relationship with China, we must remember that there is also a struggle about the future going on in China today. To understand it, we have to understand the profound challenges facing this enormously complex country.

promise?

China today is certainly not an open society, but it is more open than it was two decades ago. Over the last 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of abject poverty. In ways that are incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, the changes within China have given its people greater scope to live their lives.

But China's economy still is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people.

Only a third of the economy is private enterprise. Today, \$300 billion worth of products -- equal to one-third of China's gross domestic product -- sits in ~~China's~~ ^{Chinese} warehouses

because ^{they are} it is so poorly made. Meanwhile, ~~China's workforce~~ ^{China's workforce} is increasing by 12 million each year. ^{at} least 100 million people are looking for work. And in urban areas alone,

it's been estimated that China needs to create 18 million jobs a year just to keep up, yet China's workforce is increasing by only 12 million each year.

[I assume
"workforce"
means
people
working]

The more reform-minded figures in the Chinese leadership who negotiated China's entry into the WTO are not blind to ~~this~~ ^{these} reality. They ~~realize~~ ^{know} that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, perhaps even social unrest, ~~and~~ ^{and} greater demands for freedom. But they have concluded that without competition from the outside, without opening their markets, without building their future in cooperation with others, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy. By agreeing with us to join the WTO, they have made a choice with profound and positive consequences.

First of all, that choice can change the way China relates to the world.

China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will enmesh China in the world. China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them. In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important

decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters, because China will break its promises. The fact is, for the most part, when China has entered into a global regime, its record of compliance is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. We still have problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, to countries in unstable regions. But overall, China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its obligation^{WTO} we still are better off having it in the ~~WTO~~^{WTO}, because then its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in our interest to validate China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

Have you checked this assertion w/ Senore. I'm not sure of it and if it's wrong, rest of speech is irrelevant

By agreeing with us on the terms of their entry into the WTO, China also has ~~chosen the path of~~^{chosen the path of} ~~that it wants~~ more constructive relations with the United States. Stable, cooperative, clear-eyed U.S.-China ties increase the likelihood that we can cooperate on such crucial issues as nonproliferation, regional security, peacekeeping, human rights, and arms control. ~~They increase the likelihood that China will be a more cooperative player at the United Nations, where we share a crucial vote on the Security Council.~~ Our problems with China will not ~~magically go away~~^{disappear}, but stabilizing U.S.-China relations ~~contributes to~~^{contributes to} both the atmosphere and trust necessary to deal cooperatively with ~~bilateral, regional, and global issues of deep concern to us.~~^{will help do that} We can only do that if we ~~new~~^{new} approve PNTR.

(sounds like we're waiting for a making call)

bilaterally, in the UNIC and elsewhere --

PNTR is especially important for our ability to play a constructive role on the issue of Taiwan. Since 1979, we have ~~tried~~^{worked to build} to maintain stability across the Taiwan Straits, by

recognizing one China, encouraging a peaceful resolution of differences, and promoting dialogue. China, Taiwan -- and our relationship with both -- have benefited.

Chen Shui-bian, the newly-elected President of Taiwan, recognizes this reality. He knows that good U.S.-China relations are vital for Taiwan's own security because deep Chinese suspicions of American hostility would only inhibit its willingness to show flexibility. A sharp break with China now will only make the situation in cross-strait

relations more uncertain. ~~Economically~~, PNTR is also very important for Taiwan because

~~Taiwan uses the mainland as a base for much of the production that it exports to the~~

~~United States. Cross Strait economic ties benefit Taiwan both economically and~~

~~with both in the WTO, economic ties undoubtedly will~~

~~politically with China and they increase the costs to Beijing of confrontation. That's~~

~~why Chen supports China's membership in the WTO, and is urging us to grant PNTR.~~

Second of all, China's choice to join the WTO ~~can have equally positive implications for~~

~~its internal development.~~

To join the WTO, China has agreed to stop protecting its state-owned industries from competition. Why is that important? In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, and read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food. That system has been a ~~an important~~ source of the Communist Party's power. Now, it is shrinking. And when China joins the WTO, that process will accelerate and the private sector will grow faster. This will speed the ~~removal of~~ government from vast areas of people's lives. In important ways, it will take the command and control out of communism.

elimination?

Already, many of China's best and brightest are starting companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies, where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better working environment. That causes Chinese companies to improve the benefits they offer their workers to stay competitive. *This process will accelerate as China opens its markets. That is the surest way to improve worker standards in China.*

At the same time, these changes have increased ~~labor~~ political activism, and demands for greater representation and accountability. Last year alone, there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China. In some places, the government has responded by cracking down. But in others, it has responded by giving people a greater say. Local elections are now held in most of China's 900,000 villages, and have been introduced in some cities as well. In many places, workers are taking grievances to court – and winning. This is the start of a process of economic and social change that we should welcome and encourage *by embracing China's entry into* ~~a process that will hasten when China enters~~ the WTO. *Step*

To join the WTO, China's reform-minded leaders have also chosen to accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, that number is expected to grow to over 20 million. When China joins the WTO, it will eliminate tariffs on information technology products, making the tools of communication even cheaper, better and more widely available.

The four major Internet providers in China just announced that this year, they will pour more than \$1 billion into improving Internet connections. Similarly, *today* only one in *83* Chinese are linked ~~to each other and the world~~ by telephone. Just last week, authorities gave approval for China's mobile service providers to offer access to more than 40 million new mobile phone subscribers -- which is expected to grow to 100 million by the end of next year. When the Chinese people can easily communicate with each other and

with

people around the world, they will have gained an important ingredient for freedom.

But ~~once again~~ ^{states the art} our companies will have a chance to contribute only if we pass PNTR.

cutting edge information technology

Of course, China's future depends on decisions that its leaders and people are yet to

make. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee they will choose political reform.

But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice stronger.

Now, many people agree that bringing China into the WTO is a good thing, for some of the reasons I have mentioned. But they say we can just pocket this progress and still vote

~~no on PNTR~~ ^{or wait until China changes} They argue that we need an annual vote in the Congress to address

concerns we have with China, for example, on human rights or religious freedom. I agree that we must keep the external pressure on China to improve human rights. That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year.

That's why the State Department issued another tough report on China's human rights record this year. That's why two weeks ago, we again sponsored a resolution in the UN

Human Rights Commission condemning China's record. ~~As the President has said,~~

Reform in China will come through a combination of internal change and external validation.

others want to delay

[Soundbite?]: It's clear that if we don't grant PNTR, we will not gain the profound

economic benefits we have negotiated. ~~But the consequences of either rejection or postponement of PNTR to our national security are even more grave.~~ ^{will be serious} By rejecting

PNTR, we would set a ball rolling downhill that could disrupt stability in Asia, diminish the chance of dialogue across the Taiwan Strait, and dash hopes for a more constructive relationship between the U.S. and China. Rejecting PNTR would be the worst possible blow to the best possible hope we have had in more than 30

years to encourage positive change in China.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

like it even more

used this word earlier ??

① N
P3
add argument that WTO will make change more likely; PNTR rejection less likely.

Need to sort this argument (S) out.
① NO. ANNUAL
② NO. CONDITIONAL

too rhetorical

not a Hong Kong resolution

need to ~~rejection~~ answer ~~rejection~~ ^{can} ~~rejection~~ ^{is concisely} to ①

~~in the from the~~

[in the previous page, we need a clearer sharper pivot from reasons ~~for~~ to consequences of gain]

China's decision to join the WTO was driven by leaders ^{who have chosen} ~~committed~~ to reform ~~within~~ and ~~to cooperation with~~ ~~despite substantial risks~~. But the course they advocate is still opposed by powerful forces – including the stalwarts of China's state-dominated economy and its military-industrial complex.

The very same forces in China most threatened by the decision of its leaders to accept the WTO reforms and open their economy are also the hard-liners on China's course in the world. These are (the same people) who have always believed that cooperating with the United States is a mistake; (the same people) willing to settle differences with Taiwan by force; (the same people) most threatened by our alliance with Japan and Korea; (the same people) who want to keep the Chinese military selling dangerous technologies around the world; (the same people) whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison. In their view, China should respond to the pressures of globalization by hunkering down instead of opening up.

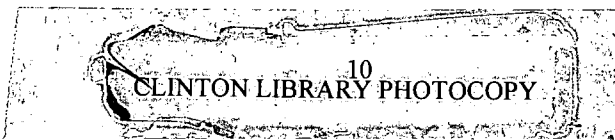
There's a
McCarthy-
like quality
to this
repetition
that only
out for
names!

Because the WTO agreement we negotiated is so manifestly in our economic interest, the Chinese government and people will not believe we rejected it for economic reasons. They would interpret rejection of PNTR as a strategic decision by the United States -- whether it is or not -- to pursue a strategy of confrontation, contention, and containment.

~~That would strengthen the hand of the hard-liners in China who have argued that America's intent is ~~hostile~~ to encircle, weaken, and contain China...~~

It would undercut ~~the~~ reform-minded leaders who have staked ~~their future~~ ^{on a policy} China's future ~~for a policy~~ of greater openness. It would strengthen ^{The hand of hardliners} ~~those~~ within China who want to tighten the internal clamps, invest more heavily in military industries, and hunker down for an "inevitable" struggle with America.

hard-
liners
↓
reformers -
↓
and
invest +
confronting



(set in brackets)

Ask yourself: would we be more secure five or ten years down the road with that kind of China? ~~(What message would we be sending to future Chinese leaders about the benefits of cooperation with the U.S.)?~~ What kind of progress do you think we would make then on labor rights, human rights or the environment? The opponents of PNTR have no answer to those questions. But that is what is at stake in this debate.

↓
And this is not an abstract debate. The consequences to our security of rejection would be ~~immediate and severe~~. *real and serious.* First, if we feed China's perceptions of a hostile America, China's willingness to cooperate with us in containing proliferation, strengthening arms control, expanding peacekeeping and cooperative humanitarian efforts, and reducing environmental threats would likely diminish. Instead of viewing each of these arenas as an opportunity for strengthening U.S.-China relations, the Chinese would see each as a potential opportunity for undercutting U.S. initiatives.

Second, a rejection of PNTR would ~~increase tensions and instability~~ between China and Taiwan at a critical time. Keep in mind that Chen Shui-bian's inauguration is on May 20th, and the House vote on PNTR will take place during the following week. [If Chen's inaugural address is misread by China and it is followed a few days later by our rejection of PNTR, Beijing will see the two as linked and adversarial.] That would undercut both Taiwan's economic well-being and security.

Third, rejection of PNTR would weaken us throughout Asia. ~~Even though some of them will face markedly tougher economic competition from China once it obtains PNTR, all the countries of the region support this measure.~~ All our friends and allies in Asia regard U.S.-China relations as critical to the future stability, prosperity, and peace of the region. All look to us to strike the right balance to avoid the twin threats of Chinese weakness and Chinese belligerence.

Asian leaders could well regard American rejection of PNTR as a sign that America no longer recognizes the basic requirements of our role as a leader in Asia, and they would adjust accordingly. Because many countries will see these developments as, at least in part, a result of American rigidity, we might end up with reluctant and uncertain friends. Trouble spots in the region would be harder to resolve. Japan and the Republic of Korea would become particularly apprehensive under these conditions.

Fourth, and more broadly, I believe rejection of PNTR would send a bracing signal to friends and allies in the world ~~particularly after the Senate's rejection last year of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the rejection of Fast Track the year before~~ that America is turning inward; that ironically at the moment of our greatest strength and prosperity, we chose to retreat instead of lead. If America is seen as ^{an} increasingly unreliable, unilateral nation, our capacity to lead on a broad range of issues -- from arms control to global poverty to fighting terrorism -- would be severely compromised. That would be a tragic mistake.

The choice before us could not be more clear, or consequential.

By embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR; by strengthening the reformers instead of the hard-liners in China; we have a chance to encourage the best possible outcome: a China with a leadership that finds strength in partnership with its people and the world. Rejecting PNTR, on the other hand, wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It simply would empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China's government. It would leave China's people with less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to avoid outside forces. And our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs, now that it finally appears to be willing to be part of the world.

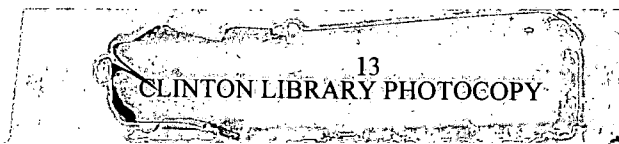
We

R know that the path China takes to the future is a choice only China can make. We cannot control that choice, we can only seek to influence it. But we do have complete control over what we do. As the President has said, we can work to pull China in the right direction, or we can turn our backs and almost certainly push it in the wrong direction. Granting China PNTR won't create a perfect China and it won't put an end to all of our concerns. But it will increase the probability of a future of greater openness and freedom for China. It will lay the foundation for a more peaceful and secure Asia and the world. And for the Columbia class of 2000, it will help create a future of greater peace and prosperity for the world they will inherit.

too long

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. I hope our Congress will agree.

Thank you.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	re: China and communications (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
002. email	DOB's (Partial); SSN's (Partial) (1 page)	04/11/2000	P6/b(6)
003. email	To Paul K. Orzulak from James R. Keith. Subject: LA times oped today on PNTR/enviro (1 page)	04/25/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [4]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm196

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

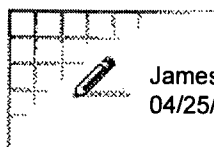
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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James R. Keith
04/25/2000 12:17:32 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Paul K. Orzulak/NSC/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: LA times op/ed today on PNTR/enviro

per discussion

----- Forwarded by James R. Keith/NSC/EOP on 04/25/2000 12:19 PM -----



James B. Steinberg
04/24/2000 08:13:32 AM

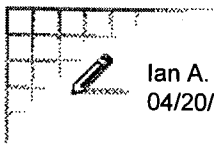


Record Type: Record

To: Tomasz P. Malinowski/NSC/EOP@EOP, James R. Keith/NSC/EOP@EOP, Miles M. Lackey/NSC/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: LA times op/ed today on PNTR/enviro

Dai Qing, as you know, has a lot of cred. We need to get this around the hill

----- Forwarded by James B. Steinberg/NSC/EOP on 04/24/2000 08:13 AM -----



Ian A. Bowles
04/20/2000 01:33:17 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: LA times op/ed today on PNTR/enviro

Wanted to draw your attention to the attached op/ed from today's LA Times. The author has substantial credibility with environmentalists drawing from her opposition to the three gorges dam and other work. Recommend we find ways to amplify this useful message in support of PNTR from a leading Chinese environmentalist.

Keep the Doors to China Wide Open

Solidifying trade status would keep pressure on Beijing to improve on rights and the environment.
By DAI QING



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Internal meeting with Samuel R. Berger concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. note	re: China's nonproliferation record (5 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [5]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm197

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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SRB Meeting

Economic – two paragraphs

Entirely one-way . . . China will get into the WTO with us or without us . . . this will benefit from the market access we negotiated . . . in a global economy, we can't afford to cede one-quarter of the world's market to Europe and Japan for even a few years because companies where workers need to produce for global markets in order to be competitive . it's not's just we can wait a little while a) we'll be giving these guys a huge head start b) costing a large number of american jobs and exports over the short term but c) over the long term, if you're caterpillar tractor, you can only be the most cimpettive equipment manufacturer if you're producing for a world market and have economies of world market – of course, then we're just not going to sell to a quarter of the world's market, puts you at a tremendous disadvantage.

You have a world-wide market where you can put production platforms – where the

This is the most important nationsl security issue we face – this is a national security decision that will affect America and the world for a generation –

First, talk about positive benefits –

1) enmeshing china in the global economy will create over the longer term a degree of restraint and a higher degree of – them being entangled in global economy because cost for them of breaking in an irresponsible way – where china has been part of int'l regimes, their conduct has been better than where they haven't – nonprofliferation – signed up for npt – they have in fact exercised restraint and generally not violated those comitments on the nuclear area – restrained in what they provide to Iran and Pakistan -- where they haven't been part of regime (missiles), we have had problems. When they're operating within an int'l system, they will cooperate

2) the decision they have made to open this economy to outside competition not only wil have profound effects on their economy, but the state, and the private sector – reformers – a

3) we do cooperate with china on a lot of things – played an important role in north-south korea dialogue, worked with the international community after the nuclear tests in south asia – the notion that we're at odds with China on everything is not correct

4) on Taiwan, we are in a very unceratin period with respet to china and taiwan – the election of a DPP which was pro-independence was unsettling – very taut situation – the role we can play here is to maintain the policy we've mainttianed since 1979 – one China, peaceful resolution, cross-straits dialogue -- has provided the stability in which all three legs of the triangle have been strengthened. We have an enormous interest in maintaint that stability – we can play a role in 1) making clear to both sides that we plan to maintain that policy 2) encouragin Taiwan – meeting Taiwan's legitimate defense needs which we've done 3) encouraging the new Taiwan government to act in a prudent and careful way and engage the Chinese in a prudent way, and to each side make clear that there has to be a peaceful resolution. China must be patient and give the new regime time. We have a balanced-wheel function – we can only play that role if we

maintain our unofficial relationship with Taiwan and a constructive, positive relationship with China. If we were to defeat PNTR, we would forfeit our ability to reduce tensions

Negative Consequences

1): Because this is such a clear-cut economic winner for the United States, the Chinese government will interpret rejection of PNTR as a strategic decision by the US – whether it is or not – to pursue a policy of confrontation and containment. It will become a self-fulfilling policy. It will be seen as a decision by the United States to turn away from engagement to confrontation.

2) Just as there is a China debate in the U.S., there is a U.S. debate in China. There are those in China who believe the U.S. is intent on keeping them down and containing them. Quote from Washington Post – Gene – the same people who don't want to open the economy, don't want good relations – because they are afraid that this will open China up to progressive forces – who wins? PLA – all people who are saying, "I don't know why you're pursuing this cockamamie engagement policy with the United States. They bombed our embassy in Belgrade. In Geneva, they were bitching about our human rights policy; they just sold Taiwan hundreds of millions of dollars worth of arms; the President just went to suck up to the Indians, who are our strategic adversaries; and now, we've gone out on this enormous limb to open our economy and take all the economic risks associated with it, and they say, "no, sorry, we don't want you to open up. We reject that. We will strengthen the forces of darkness in China. It will have consequences not only on the economic side, but the security side. Conversely, you weaken the guys like Zhu who have put their reputations and careers on the line for a policy of an open china.

3) This will scare all of our Asian allies. The one thing they do not want is a Cold War between the U.S. and China. The Japanese, the Koreans, the Southeast Asians are petrified and they will reposition themselves in a more neutral posture – and distance themselves to some degree from the U.S. – so as to not get caught in the crossfire. Our relationships throughout Asia will get weaker.

4) The weakness argument – this is a society at a crossroads and has made a decision to open itself economically with some recognition of the risks associated. If that decision is now rejected by the #1 power in the world, it will increase the instability in China. The reason the crack down on Falun Gong is not because they are self-confident, it is because they are scared to death. Taiwan on one end and screwed by us on the other end – 100 million people unemployed

5) us leadership – the world will think we've gone crazy. The capacity to lead on a range of other issues will be severely compromised – fast track and ctb – on merits, world will believe for some puzzling reason the us at the zenith of its power and prestige chose to turn its back on a quarter of the world and to turn inward.. this is so irrational that the rest of the world will say that this is a country that wants to build a NMD and turn inward

What's missing – don't just make assertions, make arguments. A persuasive speech.

We'll benefit from market access we negotiated . . . in

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Internal meeting with Samuel R. Berger concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. notes	re: Internal meeting with Samuel R. Berger concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. draft	re: PNTR and National Security (8 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

ppp or Jan 197.001

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [7]

Jamie Mettrailer

2008-0702-F

jml98

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: Suggested change to POTUS speech (1 page)	03/08/2000	P5
002a. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: POTUS China remarks to SAIS (1 page)	03/07/2000	P5
002b. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on China (12 pages)	03/07/2000	P5
003a. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: Revised POTUS China remarks to SAIS (1 page)	03/07/2000	P5
003b. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on China (13 pages)	03/07/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

[China] [Folder 2] [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm609

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 8:41 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Subject: Suggested Change to POTUS Speech [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB:

There was some concern raised by NEC about the "Nixon" paragraph in the China speech, which Tom shares. As currently drafted, the line on Nixon reads: "I believe with all my heart that this step represents the most significant step we have taken both to ~~create~~ ^{mark} ~~jobs in America and~~ positive change in China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago." As Tom points out, President Nixon's trip created neither jobs in America or change in China.

Lael Brainard suggested this fix, which we like: "China's destiny as a country and role in the world will be shaped by many forces, largely not of our making. But every once in a while, we are presented with a choice that directly and profoundly affect's China's own evolution as well as our prosperity and our relationship with China. President Nixon made such a choice nearly three decades ago. Today, we are presented with such a choice again."

Agree?

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 5:49 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @CHINAPNTR - China PNTR
Subject: Latest POTUS China Remarks to SAIS [UNCLASSIFIED]

SEE ALSO
BOB KAPP
FAX ATTACHED

For SRB:

With your changes. Also includes feedback from USTR, NEC, CEA, Shesol, and Malinowski.

A few notes on this draft.

- 1) Chinese tariffs are not falling in EVERY sector. We have adjusted language accordingly. *→ Paul*
- 2) Ambassador Barshefsky raised two points. First, she argued that we should remove the "132 of 134" reference, because it gives ammunition to the other side to argue that we don't need PNTR to get the benefits of this agreement. Second, she asked that we mention that the US (actually USTR) is stepped up enforcement efforts for this agreement. We have included language to that effect. *Get it to 11 pp before going to POTUS.*
- 3) China's economy has had a slight uptick in the last two quarters. However, it is still nowhere near creating jobs at a fast enough rate to meet the needs of its people.
- 4) We have added two new sentences on Taiwan, as requested.
- 5) It is more accurate to say that Taiwan "support's China's entry into the WTO" rather than "Taiwan supports PNTR for China."
- 6) In the spirit of full disclosure, Shesol suggested replacing "nailing jello to the wall" with the line: "In China today, the one-party state is still powerful; but with one click of a mouse, a Chinese child can find new freedoms that are even more powerful."
- 7) Finally, Malcolm Lee suggested that it was decided at the Principals Meeting that we should take language on labor and environmental rights from the Davos speech and elevate in this speech. Do you agree? *@*

We hope to get a draft to Staff Secretary by 7 or 7:30, to give the President time to read this draft tonight. Changes to Orzulak. Thanks.



china2-89is.2x.doc

*no, did not
decide that
malcolm wasn't listening
to go in handwritten
letter*

3/7/00 5:30 p.m.

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has shared a unique program with Nanjing University. It trains future leaders in both of our countries who will guide our relationship in the decades to come. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, America signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. When China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. But for us to benefit from China's entry, we must first grant it Permanent Normal Trade Relations status, which is the same arrangement we have given to ~~132 of the 134~~ other countries in the WTO [AMBASSADOR BARSHEFSKY ARGUES THAT WE SHOULD REMOVE THE 132 OF 134 POINT, BECAUSE IT GIVES OPPONENTS AMMUNITION TO ARGUE THAT PNTR ISN'T NECESSARY]. Today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that. I urge the Congress to act as soon as possible.

Let me be clear: the Congress will not be voting on whether China will join the WTO; the Congress can only decide whether the United States will share in the economic benefits. A vote against PNTR will cost America jobs. It will also cost America opportunity as our competitors in Canada, Europe, Asia, and elsewhere capture Chinese markets that we would otherwise have served.

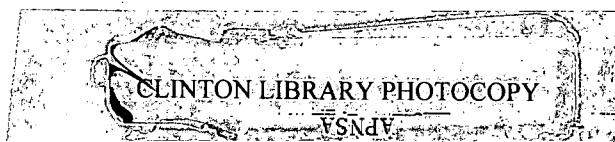
At the same time, Members of Congress want to know why the decision to let China into the WTO is not only in America's economic interest, but in our overall national interest, and why we made the choice we made last fall. So I'm going to work as hard as I can to encourage Americans to embrace that choice. Because I believe with all my heart that this step represents the most significant step we have taken both to create jobs in America and positive change in China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.

For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking to win markets, or missionaries seeking to win hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. At the dawn of the Cold War, when I was growing up, it was a cudgel in a partisan political battle -- who lost China? Later, it was a counterweight to the Soviet Union. Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion customers, or the land of a billion prisoners.

Our changing perceptions of China only superficially reflected the profound changes that have taken place within China -- the fallen dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now the beginning of a market revolution.

Through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: America's stake -- our profound national interest -- in the outcome. For the past 30 years, every American President, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, not the instability, of Asia; that is



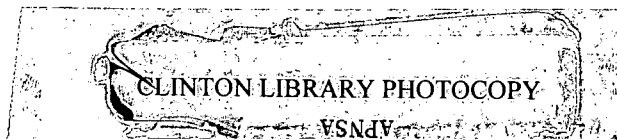
open to our products; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by international rules around the world. There is a simple reason. We are a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. We have a strong stake in Asian peace and stability. But we are also a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place; and therefore, we have a strong stake in a more open China.

The path China takes is China's choice. We can't control it. But we can control the choices we make. We can work to pull China in the right direction; or we can turn our backs and almost certainly push it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance the goals America has worked for in China the past 30 years. I want to talk today about how and why.

This has been called a free trade agreement. But let's understand from the beginning: it is not like most trade agreements. This agreement is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. This agreement requires China to open its markets to our products and services in unprecedented new ways; we simply agree to maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our tariffs one bit.

We are a country with four percent of the world's population. If we want to continue to grow, we've got to sell more and more things to more and more people around the world. And where better than China? With more than a billion people -- over one-fifth of the world's population -- China is the biggest potential market in the world, and under China's WTO accession agreement, America will gain unprecedented access to it.

Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications products to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more over five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here in America, without being forced to relocate



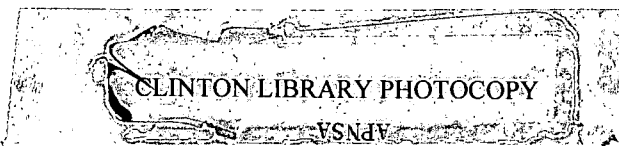
manufacturing to China, sell through the Chinese government, or transfer valuable technology to China. We'll be able to export products without exporting jobs. Meanwhile, we'll get valuable new safeguards against any surges of imports from China. We are already preparing for the largest enforcement effort ever given to a trade agreement. [AMBASSADOR BARSHEFSKY REQUESTED WE ADD THIS LINE].

If the Congress passes PNTR, then we reap these rewards. If Congress rejects it, then our competitors do. I will say this again, because we must understand the consequences of saying no: if we don't sell our products to China, some other country will, and we will spend the next twenty years regretting it. We will spend the next 20 years wondering why we ever handed over all the benefits we negotiated -- and gave up the competitive edge we've earned -- to Europe, Japan, and others.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a win-win. Most of its critics don't seriously question that. They are more likely to say: China is a growing threat to Taiwan and its neighbors, and we shouldn't strengthen it. Or, China violates labor rights and environmental standards, and we shouldn't enrich it. Or, China is an offender of human rights, and we shouldn't reward it. Or, China is a dangerous proliferator, and we shouldn't empower it. And most of their concerns are absolutely legitimate.

Those of us who support the China WTO agreement are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies its citizens the most fundamental rights of free speech and religious expression. It defines its interests in the world in ways that are often at odds with our own. But let me be very clear: the question is not simply whether we approve or disapprove of China's practices. The question is, what can we do to improve them?

This is not a contest between economic rights and human rights, or economic security and



national security. These are false choices. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight, or guarantee that China will play by global rules. But over time, we believe it's going to move China faster and further in the right direction.

To understand how, it's important to understand why China is willing to do what it has undertaken in this agreement. Why they are doing this is as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its efforts to build a new communications network that is it adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year. Nationwide, China has seen the emergence of more than one million nonprofit and social organizations, and a 2,500 percent explosion of print and broadcast media.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only about one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Much of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And its economy is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people. It's ironic: many Americans are legitimately concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is also real, and China's leaders know it.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to

global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive and grow in the global economy.

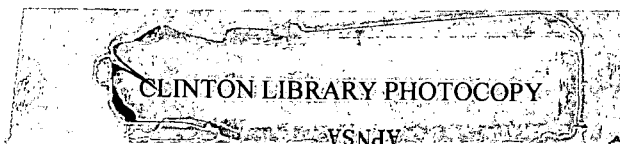
With this agreement, China has chosen reform, despite the risks. The question for America is: do we want to play a constructive role in encouraging those reforms? Or do we want to reject China's choice, and become bystanders as the rest of the world rushes in? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we must embrace, for our own good and the good of the world.

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged a debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume a respected place in the world. If China joins the WTO and we turn our backs, many Chinese will see this as an American vote for failure in China.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and engage the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to us, do we really want to turn our backs?

I am telling you, everything I have ever learned in my life, and everything I have learned about China, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing China's actions if we bring it into the world than if we shut it out.

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be

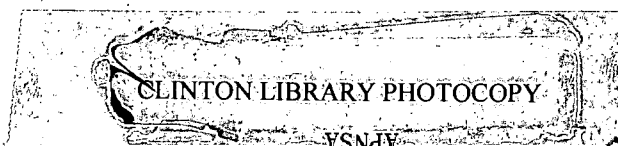


subject to the review of an international body. China is conceding that its actions are subject to rules consistently applied. Opponents say that doesn't matter; China will just break its promises. But if it does, we're still better off, because its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments passed by 135 nations.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is not simply agreeing to import more of our products; it is agreeing to import one of democracy's most cherished principles: economic freedom. The more China liberalizes its economy, the more fully it will liberates the potential of its people -- their initiative, their imagination, their spirit of enterprise. And when individuals have the power not just to dream but to realize those dreams, they will demand a greater say in their own destiny.

Already, more and more, China's best and brightest are starting their own companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies -- where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. In fits and starts, for the first time, China may become a society where people get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know. Surveys show that American businesses in China are leading the market in developing human resources -- by emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. In turn, Chinese firms are realizing that unless they treat employees with respect, they will lose out in the competition for top talent. This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should encourage it, because it will lift standards for Chinese workers -- and their expectations.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, by lowering the barriers that protect its state-owned industries, China is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people lives. In important ways, this step will take the command and control out of communism.

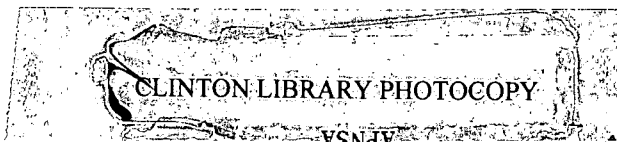


Let's not forget how communism works. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power and control. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China joins the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments to control people's lives. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes in the city of Shenyang in China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their jobs -- and their benefits. Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government has given the people a say in how the city is run. On a limited basis, citizens now have the right to vote in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." The



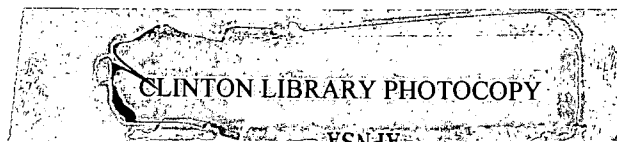
genie of freedom will not go back in the bottle. As Earl Warren once said: "Liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

And how will liberty spread, in this new century? The answer is obvious: in the information age, liberty is carried in part by cell phone; it is conducted by cable modem. China's information infrastructure is growing fast, by orders of magnitude that defy measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people.

When China joins the WTO, by 2005, it will eliminate its tariffs on information technology products -- making the tools of communication even cheaper, better, and more widely available. This will allow them to communicate with each other -- to share ideas and information -- in ways that no government can control. We know how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Just imagine how much it could change China.

There is no question China has been trying to crack down on the Internet. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. It just proves how real these changes are and how they threaten the status quo. It's not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world, but for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?



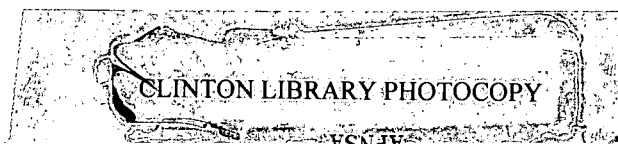
This is not to say that China's membership in the WTO alone will accomplish all of the goals of our policy toward China. It is not, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. Change will only come through a combination of internal pressure and external validation of China's human rights struggle. And we must maintain our leadership in the latter, even as the WTO agreement contributes to the former.

That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we will continue to reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question, and make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan. The coming months provide an important opportunity for dialogue across the Taiwan Strait. We will continue to encourage both sides to seize that opportunity and avoid the risk of direct confrontation.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not and cannot do so by isolating China from the very forces most likely to change it, the forces already empowering its people to build a better future.

If we did that, it would be a gift to the hard-liners in China's government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in jail.

Voting against PNTR won't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or

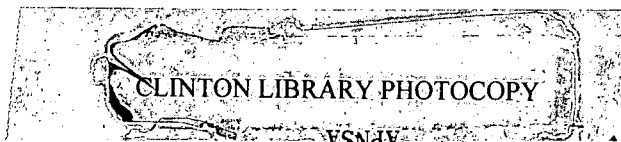


reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. Our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs now.

I find it encouraging that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland, and they support China's entry into the WTO. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede." Martin Lee wants us to vote in favor of PNTR.

Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Many of the people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree, too. Ren Wanding is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning." For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise or a legislative debate, it is their life's work. They are telling us that this is the right thing to do.

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be



for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should embrace it, and lead the world to do the same. Thank you.

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 12:30 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @CHINAPNTR - China PNTR
Subject: Revised POTUS China Remarks to SAIS [UNCLASSIFIED]

UP @ PNTR
MTG

For SRB:

With your changes. Also includes changes from Malinowski, Lieberthal, Sperling, Shesol, and Malcom Lee. Changes to Orzulak.

A plea from Tom: "Sandy, you questioned the seriousness of Paul's 'Titanic' metaphor. I have to say I loved it. If I have a serious academic background in anything, it's change in communist societies, and I think this captures perfectly and vividly the self-deception that if you keep pumping investment into inefficient state-run enterprises, forcing them to produce faster, but not better, they will stay afloat forever. Plus, especially because this is a serious and complicated subject, we need to seize every opportunity to bring it to life.

The President will add his own light touches anyway (I'm told he's expressed a desire to make this message more "populist"). So we may as well give him some good and meaningful ones."

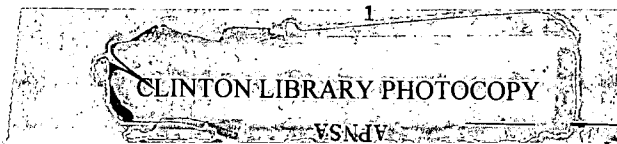


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→ Paul -
Excellent.

- ① Where I have made some change again, presumption is in my favor; come back to me before you disregard.
- ② I want to clear on others' changes after you make them.

②



3/7/00 12:30 p.m.

Orzulak

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 8, 2000

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has shared a unique program with Nanjing University. It trains future leaders in both of our countries who will guide our relationship in the decades to come. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, America signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. When China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. But for us to benefit from China's entry, we must first grant it Permanent Normal Trade Relations status, which is the same arrangement we have given to 132 of the 134 countries in the WTO. Today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that. *I urge the Congress to act as soon as possible.*

Let me be clear: the vote the Congress is going to take this spring is not on whether China will join the WTO; it is only on whether the United States will share in the economic benefits. A vote against PNTR will cost America jobs because our competitors in Canada, Europe, *and elsewhere* *for China,* will capture ~~part~~ *of* the China market that we otherwise could have served.

At the same time, I ~~understand that~~ *want to know that* Members of Congress ~~are much more likely to vote for PNTR~~ *PNTR* if they understand why ~~it is~~ *is* in America's fundamental interest to bring China into the WTO, and why we made the choice we made last fall. So I'm going to work as hard as I can to encourage

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Americans to embrace that choice. Because I believe with all my heart that ^{this step} ~~the agreement we~~
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make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place.

^{and therefore we have a strong stake}
^{in there a more open China}

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VSNDV

03/07/00 10:18 FAX

If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, ~~and every nation makes its own choices~~. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do control the choices we make. We can work to ^{pull} ~~have~~ China in the right direction; or we can turn our backs and almost certainly ^{push} ~~send~~ it in the wrong direction. ~~I believe the~~ this WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance the goals America has worked for in China the past 30 years. I want to talk today about how and why.

[to us] This has been called a free trade agreement. But let's understand from the beginning: it is not like most trade agreements. Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits ^{from} ~~of~~ opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our markets further. But this agreement is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to ^{greatly} ~~open~~ its markets to our products and services, ^{simply} ~~but all~~ we agree to ~~do~~ maintain the market access ~~that~~ we already give to China. It does not change our tariffs one bit. ~~This is the kind of agreement every country wishes for or works toward, the kind you get maybe once in a generation.~~ ^{not accurate - true of all new WTO accession}

^{we want to} We are a country with four percent of the world's population. If ~~we're going to~~ ^{prosper} ~~prosper~~ in the 21st Century, we ~~had~~ better be selling more and more things to more and more people around the world. And where better than China? With more than a billion people - over one-fifth of the world's population -- China is the biggest potential market in the world, and under China's WTO accession agreement, America will gain unprecedented access to it.

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4

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So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a win-win. [Most of its critics don't ~~even~~ ^{seriously} ~~ask~~ ^{kept for} question that.] Critics are more likely to say that: China is a growing threat to Taiwan and its neighbors, and we shouldn't strengthen it. Or, China violates labor rights and environmental standards, and we shouldn't enrich it. Or, China is an offender of human rights, and we shouldn't reward it. Or, China is a dangerous proliferator, and we shouldn't empower it. And most of their concerns are absolutely legitimate.

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This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to

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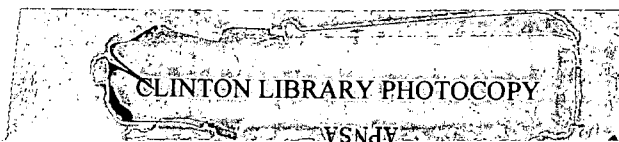
To understand how, it's important to understand why China is willing to do ~~all of this~~ ^{what it has undertaken in this} in the first ^{agreement} place. Why they are doing this is ~~just~~ ^{as} important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its efforts to build a new communications network that is it adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year. Nationwide, China has seen ^{The emergence of} more than one million nonprofit and social organizations ^[otherwise antecedent in hr, prodig, etc] ~~emerge~~ and a 2,500 percent explosion of print and broadcast media.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only about one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Much of China's economy today still basically operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be ^[verified?] rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are legitimately concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is also real, and China's leaders know it.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to



global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – temporary unemployment, social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without ^{outside} ~~the~~ ^{opening to global} competition, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive and grow in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen reform, despite the risks. The question for America is: do we want to play a constructive role in encouraging those reforms? Or do we want to reject China's choice, stand aside, and perhaps make failure a self-fulfilling prophecy? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we must embrace, for our own good and the good of the world.

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in ~~the same kind of~~ ^a debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. If China joins the WTO and we turn our backs, many Chinese will see this as an American vote for failure in China.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and engage the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to us, do we really do we really want to turn our backs? ~~want to slap that hand away?~~

I am telling you, everything I have ever learned in my life, and everything I have learned about China, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing China's actions if we bring it into the world than if we shut it out.

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be

subject to the review of an international body. China is conceding that ~~governments cannot~~
~~behave arbitrarily either at home or abroad, that~~ their actions are subject to rules consistently
 applied. Opponents say that doesn't matter; China will just break its promises. But if it does,
 we're still better off, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject
 to rules embraced and judgments passed by 135 nations.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it
 can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is not simply agreeing to import more
 of our products; it is agreeing to import one of democracy's most cherished principles: economic
 freedom. The more China liberalizes its economy, the more fully it will liberates the potential of
 its people -- their initiative, their imagination, their spirit of enterprise. And when individuals
 have the power not just to dream but to realize those dreams, they will demand a greater say in
 their own destiny.

Already, more and more, China's best and brightest are starting their own companies, or seeking
 jobs with foreign-owned companies -- where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a
 better work environment. In fits and starts, for the first time, China may become a society where
 people get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know. Surveys show that
 American businesses in China are leading the market in developing human resources -- by
 emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. In turn, Chinese firms are realizing that
 unless they treat employees with respect, they will lose out in the competition for top talent.
 This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should encourage it, because
 it will lift standards for Chinese workers -- and their expectations.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, by ~~lowering~~
~~the barriers~~ ^{lowering} that protect its state-owned industries, China is speeding a process that is removing
 government from vast areas of its people lives. ^{on important ways,} This step ~~effectively takes~~ ^{will take} the command and

control out of communism.

Let's not forget how communism works. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces ~~also~~ operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food.

*it wasn't
their
government*

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power and control. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China joins the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments to control people's lives, ~~fewer means to win their loyalty~~. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes in the city of Shenyang in China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their jobs -- and their benefits. Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government has given the people a say in how the city is run. On a limited basis, citizens now have the right to vote in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We

realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." ~~This is not the first time a communist country has taken this gamble.~~ But the genie of freedom will not go back in the bottle. As Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

We are not calling for overthrow of CP within speech. This can be more effective if a little more subtle

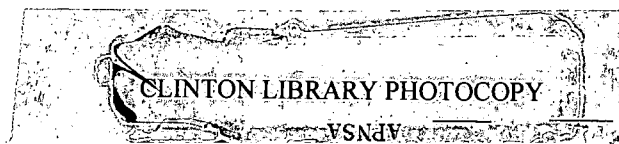
How will liberty spread, in this new century? The answer is obvious: in the information age, liberty is carried in part by cell phone; it is conducted by cable modem. China's information infrastructure is growing fast, by orders of magnitude that defy measurement. In the past year the number of Internet addresses in China more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people.

And when China joins the WTO, it will eliminate its tariffs on information technology products. That means the tools of communication will only become cheaper, better, and more widely available. This will allow the citizens of China to communicate with each other -- to share ideas and information -- in ways that no government can control. We know how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Just imagine how much it could change China.

(check)

There is no question China has been trying to crack down on the Internet. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. It just proves how real these changes are and how they threaten the status quo. It's not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world, but for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But



accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that the WTO alone will accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports China's membership, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. Change will only come through a combination of internal pressure and external validation of China's human rights struggle. And we must maintain our leadership in the latter, even as the WTO agreement contributes to the former.

That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we will continue to reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question, and make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not and cannot do so by isolating China from the very forces most likely to change it, the very forces already empowering its people to build a better future.

I think we need another sentence or two on Taiwan; KL is supposed to provide

If we did that, it would be a gift to the hard-liners in China's government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the

face of opposition is to throw people in ~~prison camps~~ ^{jail}.

Voting against PNTR won't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. Our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs now.

It find it encouraging that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland, and they strongly support PNTR for China. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede." Martin Lee wants us to vote in favor of PNTR.

can we say that w/o their contradiction?

Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Many of the people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree, too. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning." For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise or a legislative

debate, it is their life's work. They are telling us that this is the right thing to do.

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should embrace it, and lead the world to do the same. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on China (12 pages)	03/06/2000	P5
002. note	DOB's (Partial); SSN's (Partial); Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	03/01/2000	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

[China] [Folder 2] [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm201

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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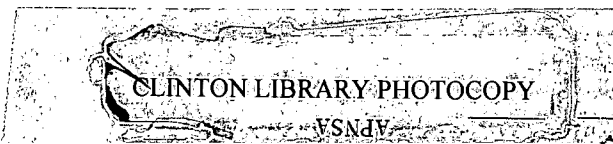
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn ~~a little bit~~ more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could ~~forever~~ change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, we signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. ^{when} ~~if~~ China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and ~~are we going to~~ benefit from it economically? ^{and otherwise?} For that to happen, we must grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that.

The same status we give 135 other WTO members.

Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and ^{moving on} ~~flipping to~~ something else. But ^{it is important for} ~~I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand~~ why this is so important, ~~and why Congress should grant China PNTR~~. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents ^{who cares about} ^{our} ^{"relationship"} ^{need to put} ^{in terms of} ^{benefit/interest} ^{of American} ^{people} ^{the most significant step in our relationship with} China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.



For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking ^{to win} ~~open~~ markets, or missionaries seeking ^{to win} ~~open~~ hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. When I was growing up, it was a question mark — who lost China? During the Cold War, it was a counterweight ^{to the Soviet Union.} Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia — the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers. ✓

~~And all~~ these changing perceptions of China ^{begin} ~~have~~ only ^{begin} ~~begin~~ to reflect the profound changes ^{that have taken place} within China itself — ~~the~~ falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now ^{the beginning of} a market revolution.

But through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: our interests. Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes ^{haven't our interests changed over time?} to the stability, not the instability of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by ^{international} ~~the~~ rules of the road around the world. ~~We make~~ ^{"constant" is??} ~~no apologies for it.~~ We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in how China evolves.

If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do have control over the

choices that we make. We can ~~give China a chance to be a good partner~~, and work to move ^{China} it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance ^{the} ~~every~~ goals we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you now.

First let's understand from the beginning: this ~~is not a~~ ^{like most} trade agreement ~~in any traditional sense~~. Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits ^{from} opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our market. ^{further} But this ~~is not a two-way agreement~~, ^{agreement} this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.

I don't believe there can be ^{serious} any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the ^{Jackson-Vanik must be changed for PNTR} past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products.

It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with ~~22 percent of the world's income and~~ four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, ^{more and more things to more and more people around the world} we had better be selling ~~something to somebody somewhere else~~.

With more than a billion people -- ⁵ ~~fully~~ one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. Under this agreement, Chinese tariffs in every sector, from telecommunications to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more ^{over}.

five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here at home without transferring ^{U.S. to the Chinese} technology in manufacturing. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. It's ^{will} ~~going to~~ mean ~~a lot more~~ ^{any} jobs for America. ^{from China} Meanwhile, we'll get ~~new~~ new safeguards against surges of imports ~~which~~ would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.

That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one-fifth of the world — while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap. In other words, they would be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. ~~Most of its critics don't even question that.~~ Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, and say we shouldn't strengthen it. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report our State Department issued, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, and say we shouldn't empower it. And all of those concerns are absolutely legitimate.

(not Presidential)

back

Those of us who support the China WTO agreement ~~permanent Normal Trade Relations~~ are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies basic freedoms to its citizens, including freedom of ~~It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression.~~

forgot to say language; don't specify how long weeks ago

Its record on labor and environmental rights leaves a lot to be desired. The question is not whether we support it or whether we ignore it. The question is, how do we ^{help} ~~we~~ change it?

Why introduce this?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over the long haul, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction than simply taking our ball and going home. To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

not Presidential

do you really think so? overwinding

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless

I generally don't like slang in POTUS speeches.

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communications network that is adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one-third of its economy is private enterprise.

And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward

all 80%? state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Most of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat. *This is a serious speech*

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in

China are ~~are~~ looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. *Per an Asian G/M.I.* It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. *Per an Asian G/M.I. (concl.)* But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo. *not true. China's growth now? I believe*

let's not blow off the risk of strong China (gone every) So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, unemployment, social unrest, and *greater* demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive *and grow* in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen to embrace change, despite the risk it entails. The question for America is: do we really want to reject that choice? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the common good of the world.

For starters, having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow

the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world

again, overreaching.
Because they're
in WTO they will
obey Universal Declaration
of Human Rights? Too
sharp a
leap here

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I ~~try~~ remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter because China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

They've
found other
venues

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its state owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished

economic freedom not
an "American" product
alone

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principles – economic freedom. Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years -- not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to ~~dream~~ ^{imagine a different future,} they demand a greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For the first time, China is moving toward becoming a society where people have a chance to get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know. ^{state sector private sector}

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is ^{China} ~~taking~~ the command and control out of communism. ^{This step effectively removes} It is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people's lives.

Let's not forget what communism is. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers ^{published} ~~dictated~~ by their government. Their state-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their ^{children} ~~kids~~, the clinics where they ^{got} health care, the stores where they bought their food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. ~~The few benefits it provided~~ ^{big sentence pushes edge of what might provoke response. check w/ten} ~~were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded.~~ Now people are leaving those firms, and when China is in the WTO, ~~they will leave them faster.~~ The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer

was

and police. I'd put 'em
positively, not negatively >

8

instruments of day-to-day repression, fewer opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government decided to give its people a say in how the province was run. On a limited basis, they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." ~~The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle. And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. It was a gamble they all lost. Because as~~ ^{But will not go} Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs

on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its ~~telecom~~ ^{communications} market to cutting-edge American firms. ~~By doing so,~~ ^{By doing so,} it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

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The magnitude of this defies measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will ~~seek~~ ^{insist upon} a greater voice in shaping their own lives.

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to control its content. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the government is pushing back only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and threaten the status quo. This is not an argument for

persistent & get the point across use it either!

slowing down the effort to bring China into the world – it's an argument for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

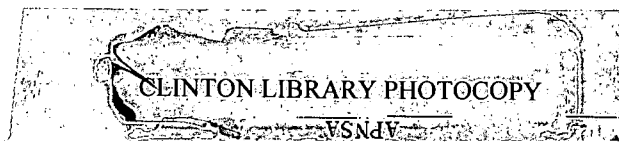
internal
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Shutting China out wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake. ✓

It's very interesting to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede."

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And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should lead the world in embracing it. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on China (13 pages)	03/06/2000	P5
002a. note	re: Content of speech (1 page)	03/06/2000	P5
002b. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies on China (14 pages)	03/06/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

[China] [Folder 3]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm610

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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M. Lee edits of 5:45 PM March 6
3/6/00 1:00 p.m.
Orzulak

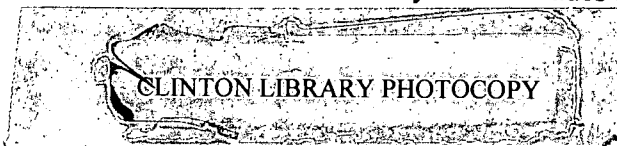
M. Lee
Monday 6:00

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, we signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen, we must grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that.

Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.



For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. When I was growing up, it was a question mark – who lost China? During the Cold War, it was a counterweight. Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers.

And all these changing perceptions of China have only begun to reflect the profound changes within China itself – the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution.

But through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: our interests. Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, not the instability of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world. We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in how China evolves.

If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own

choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do have control over the choices that we make. We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

First let's understand from the beginning: this is not a two-way free trade agreement, in any traditional sense. ~~Usually, When we sign free trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we grant greater openness to our own market.~~ But there is no greater opening of the United States market in this ~~is is not a two-way~~ agreement, this agreement is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not lower change ~~our laws or~~ our [NOTE: technically we have to change one trade law, Jackson-Vanik] tariffs one bit.

I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

With more than a billion people -- fully one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. Under this agreement, Chinese tariffs in every sector, from telecommunications products to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more in five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here at home without being forced to relocate manufacturing to China, sell through a government authorized middleman, or transfer valuable ~~ring~~ technology. ~~in~~

~~manufacturing.~~ For the first time, China will agree to play by the same global trading rules we do. It's going to mean a lot more jobs for America. In addition, Meanwhile, we have negotiated ~~'ll get strong protections against sudden surges and unfairly traded goods~~ two new safeguards ~~against surges of imports which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.~~ [Note: I suggest dropping the "throw a lot of Americans out of work" line, this is what they are afraid of]

That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would risk losinge the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be denied ~~shut off from one fifth of the world—~~ the same rights and terms of competition enjoyed ~~while by~~ our European, Japanese, and other competitors. ~~—would be happy to rush in and fill the gap.~~ In other words, they would be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated. And we would be walking away from an agreement we specifically tailored to advance U.S. interests.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, and say we shouldn't strengthen China~~it~~. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report our State Department issued, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, and say we shouldn't empower it. And all of those concerns are absolutely legitimate.

Those of us who support permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies basic freedoms to its citizens. It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression. It denies its workers the right to freely organize. ~~s record on labor and environmental rights~~ [I am not sure they are so bad on environmental rights and cooperation, but defer to ceq/NSC. China's intent on environmental issues is not abysmal, at least the want to improve in this area --

different category than human and labor rights]leaves a lot to be desired. The question is not whether we support it or ~~whether we ignore~~ China. The question is, how do we change it?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to advance ~~promote~~ both. Membership in the WTO will not ~~won't~~ create a free society in China overnight. But over time ~~the long haul~~, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction than simply taking our marbles?[Note: let's highlight the infantile nature of this] ~~ball~~ and going home. To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its efforts to build a new wireless [Note: not all is wireless] communications network that is it adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Much ~~est~~ of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset

by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. [NOTE: THIS IS A POWERFUL ARGUMENT] They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to reform its dominant and lumbering state-owned enterprises, attract investment or build world-class industries that can generate jobs and survive in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen to embrace change, despite the risk it entails. The question for America is: do we really want to reject that choice? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the common good of the world.

For starters, having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion

and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter because China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments passed by 135 nations.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is [eliminating protective walls around]] [slashing the tariffs that protect] its state owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles – economic freedom. Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years -- not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream, they demand a greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get

higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For the first time, China is moving toward becoming a society where people have a chance to get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is taking big pieces of the command and control out of communism. It is speeding a process that is beginning to remove the government from vast areas of its people's lives. [Note: the state is still a huge presence in the lives of Chinese, do not want to oversell]

Let's not forget what communism is. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. Their work unit had to approve any job change. Their state-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health care, the stores where they bought their food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power and control. The few benefits it provided were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China is in the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments of day-to-day control and repression, fewer opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

[Defer to NSC on Shenyang example] A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce

that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government decided to give its people a say in how the province was run. On a limited basis, they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle. And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. It was a gamble they all lost. Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

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telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.

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I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to

take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not change our policies in a way that isolates China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future.

Shutting China out would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in its government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same elements within China [Note: important to make clear these are elements, not the whole][people] most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same elements ~~people~~ most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same elements ~~people~~ who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same hard liners ~~people~~ whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.

Shutting China out wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-

democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake.

It's very interesting to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede."

Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Even people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. [He has endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.] Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise, it is their life's work.

How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgement for theirs?

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity.

And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should lead the world in embracing it. Thank you.

Lieberthal

6:00 Monday

Paul,

Most of the content of this speech is fine, but the essential framework gets lost in ways that are self-defeating, I believe. Let me spell out that framework. I have tried to write some of it in via tracked changes, but they are not adequate. I believe you can reshape according to this framework without a lot of work and can produce a far more effective product. I am so concerned about this because the POTUS speech will be the first really high visibility framing of this issue for the American public, and he needs to frame it clearly and correctly. The basic building blocks should be:

- China is going to get into the WTO. That is not an issue that the Congress will decide. It has already basically been decided.
- The issue the Congress will decide is whether the US associates itself with the directions in which the WTO will move China and whether the US directly encourages those directions through active participation.
- The directions the WTO will move China are almost all those we have encouraged for years (rule of law, individual choice, reduced role for government, more access to information, accepting international rules, etc.).
- For us to vote against PNTR is for us to declare ourselves as standing in opposition to those changes. Make no mistake about it. That is the way it will be seen in China and elsewhere. That will empower hardliners in China and will make our allies shake their heads in wonderment at our decision.
- How can we take seriously what we have preached for so many years and still decide to keep ourselves outside of the WTO framework with China by voting against PNTR? What does that say about our leadership?
- In addition, in narrow terms, the WTO is good for Americans. A "no" vote will cost American jobs, as our competitors gain the market access that we are denied. A "yes" vote will expand our exports to China. A "no" vote will give up the strong protections this agreement has against unfair trade practices by China.
- In sum, China will in any case join the WTO and will change. But a "yes" on PNTR will associate us with those changes and strengthen the forces of change in China. A "no" vote will harm our pocketbooks, betray our values, and weaken our leadership.

Huge blocks of your text can be plugged almost directly into this framework. If the President ends up leaving his audience unclear as to the difference between voting for entering the WTO and voting for PNTR, the speech will have failed to make the case on the PNTR vote that needs to be made.

Ken

3/6/00 1:00 p.m.

Orzulak

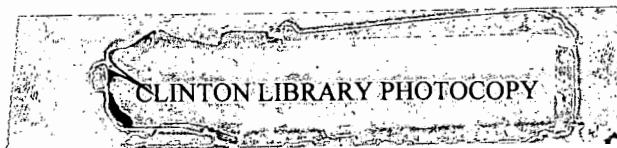


**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique ~~exchange joint program venture~~ with Nanjing University. ~~Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us.~~ This unusual program enrolls potential future private and public sector leaders who will guide the relationship in the coming decades for a year of living and studying together. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, we signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. Let me be clear: the vote the Congress is going to take this spring is not on whether China will join the WTO; it is only on whether the United States will share the economic benefits of China's doing so. A vote against will cost American jobs because our competitors in Canada, Europe, and Asia will capture part of the China market that we otherwise could have served. For us to benefit from China's joining the WTO, ~~The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen,~~ we must grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that.

Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over



China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.

For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. When I was growing up, it was a question mark -- who lost China? During the later stages of the Cold War, it was a counterweight. Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- ~~the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers,~~ or the land of a billion prisoners.

And all these changing perceptions of China have only ~~begun to~~ superficially reflected the profound changes within China itself -- the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution.

But through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: our interests. Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, not the instability, of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that

upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world. We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in how China ~~evolves~~acts.

If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. With nearly a quarter of the world's population and in a state of rapid flux, nobody knows for certain what China's future holds. ~~Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make.~~ But we do have control over the choices that we make. We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

[The text here veers off in a direction that we should avoid. It implies that our decision will determine whether China gets into the WTO and thus makes the changes in its market that are being described. We need to hammer home absolutely consistently that China is getting into the WTO and making these changes regardless of our vote on PNTR. What we are voting on is simply whether we participate in—and benefit from—these new arrangements.]

First let's understand from the beginning: this is not ~~a trade agreement, in any traditional sense~~the usual choice on trade agreements, where we weigh how much we give up against how much we gain. China will make major changes to its economy as a result of WTO. For us to benefit from these will cost us nothing – all the changes are on China's side. PNTR, therefore, let's us gain huge benefits even as the WTO more broadly moves China in the right directions. This is a clear win for our interests and our values.. ~~Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we~~

~~have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our market. But this is not a two-way agreement, this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.~~

I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

With more than a billion people – fully over one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. Under this China's WTO accession agreement, Chinese tariffs in every sector, from telecommunications to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more in five years. If we vote in favor of PNTR, for the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here at home without transferring technology in manufacturing. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. It's going to mean a lot more jobs for America. Meanwhile, we'll get two new safeguards against surges of imports which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.

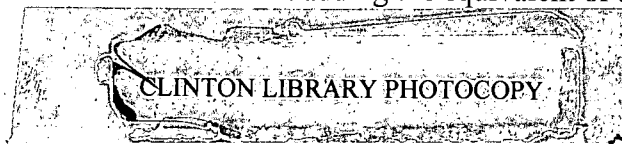
That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one-fifth of the world – while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap. In other words, when China joins the WTO and we deny China PNTR, they our competitors ~~would~~ will be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, and say we shouldn't strengthen it. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report our State Department issued, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, and say we shouldn't empower it. And all of those concerns ~~are absolutely legitimate~~ warrant serious attention.

Those of us who support permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies many basic freedoms to its citizens. It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression. Its record on labor and environmental rights leaves a lot to be desired. The question is not whether we support it or whether we ignore it. The question is, ~~how do we change it~~ do our actions move it in the right direction?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over the long haul, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction. ~~than simply taking our ball and going home~~ If we grant China PNTR we will join in this effort and strengthen it. That is better than taking our ball and going home. To understand why the WTO will move China in the right direction, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless communications network that is it adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.



But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only about one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. ~~Most~~ Much of China's economy today still basically operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. [source of the 100 million figure??] And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. - ~~They~~ They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, transitional unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy. And we have a strong national interest in China's economic success.

With this agreement, China has chosen to embrace change, despite the risks it entails. The question for America is: do we really want to ~~reject~~ position ourselves against that choice? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the common good of the world.



~~For starters, having China in a rules based trading system increases the chance that it will follow the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world~~

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. ~~They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world~~ if China joins the WTO and we opt out by way of a vote against PNTR, many Chinese will see this as an American vote for failure in China.

Let's not forget: ~~there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of~~ invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history the past five hundred years to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want everyone else to welcome them and the US alone to slap that hand away?

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily either at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter because China will just break its promises. But joining the WTO makes China agree that it should accept the international rules rather than reject them. And if China does violates those rules, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. ~~i~~ Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations. It won't be able to blame U.S. bullying.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of



influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its state owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles – economic freedom. Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years - not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream, they demand a greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For the first time, China is moving toward becoming a society where people have a chance to get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know. Because American firms are known to provide the best working conditions in China, it is important for workers' rights that American firms participate in this great internal change in China.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is taking the command and control out of communism. It is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people's lives.

Let's not forget what communism is. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. Their state-run



workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health care, the stores where they bought their food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. The few benefits it provided were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China is in the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments of day-to-day repression, fewer opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes ~~on the Shenyang province of~~ in the city of Shenyang in China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government decided to give its people a say in how the ~~province-city~~ was run. On a limited basis, they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. - It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

~~When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We~~

~~realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle. And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. It was a gamble they all lost. Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."~~ [The reason to drop this paragraph is that it puts the President on the record as saying we want to use the WTO to bring down the Chinese government. That is not a foreign policy position he can responsibly take.]

Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, if we grant PNTR, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

This will help make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It means that Chinese citizens won't have to go to a government- entity to get a telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.

The magnitude of this defies measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

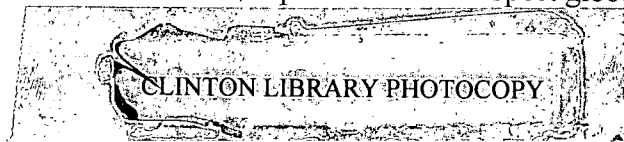


Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer as dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will ~~seek a greater voice in~~ have stronger ideas about shaping their own lives.

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to control its content. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the government is pushing back only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and threaten the status quo. This is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world – it's an argument for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we ~~possibly turn our backs~~ signal that we oppose this by voting against PNTR?

This is not to say that ~~this agreement~~ the WTO will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports China's membership, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States, and our vote for PNTR is not substitute for such a policy. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-

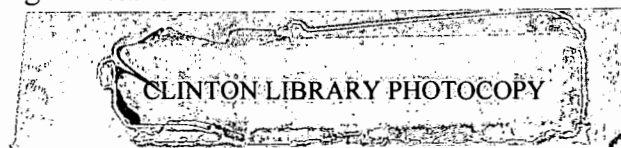


proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. ~~But if we will not change our policies in~~ vote against PNTR, we thereby refuse to support the single most important set of changes China will embrace in the coming decade, changes that move China in directions we have long advocated. Put differently, a vote against PNTR puts us on the wrong side of history, identifying us with a position a way that isolates China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future.

Taking that stance ~~Shutting China out~~ would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in ~~its~~ China's government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.

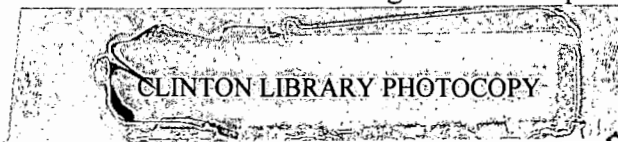
~~Shutting~~ Voting against PNTR ~~China out~~ wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. ~~It would leave China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage.~~ It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. It would ~~delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure~~ leave our allies shaking their heads in wonderment at our lack of judgment. ~~That~~ It would be a tragic mistake.



It's very interesting to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland, and they strongly support PNTR for China. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede." Martin Lee wants us to vote in favor of PNTR.

[Note: in this section the speech totally confuses the message. POTUS needs to speak to PNTR. All of this has him arguing for a vote in favor of China's joining the WTO—which is not/not a vote that is being taken in Washington.] Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Even people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. [He has endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.] Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise, it is their life's work. How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our



judgement for theirs? They think WTO membership will move China in the right direction.
How can we take a stance against PNTR, which clearly indicates that we do not think China
should move in the directions the WTO will mandate? How can we maintain our posture as an
advocate of law, of human rights, of respect for international rules, of free markets and free
choices if we turn down PNTR and thus detach ourselves from the WTO and China?

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should lead the world in embracing it. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	To Donald A. Mitchell from Miles M. Lackey. Subject: Talking points for Samuel R. Berger (3 pages)	02/19/2000	P1/b(1)
002. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China II [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm202

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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China

Context: one of most important issues, top priorities: whether Congress accepts agreement, grants permanent NTR.

Why permanent NTR?

This is our part of the deal. We are not opening our markets further, we not lowering our tariffs, but we are granting permanent NTR. This is not a favor to China, this is how the system works – not asking us for anything different than what every other nation in the WTO gets. It's an annual exercise more important for domestic debate than for its impact on China – annual exercise has failed 14 years (chk?) in a row. This is how the system works.

What happens with permanent NTR? What happens if we don't do it?

Two pages on very specific good things that this agreement will bring about, beyond "lowering tariffs from 31% to 14%.

I want to talk today about why this is in our national security interest.

We have a tremendous stake in how China evolves – its size, impact on Asia, largest economy in the world, whose presence on the world around it as it develops will be greater, not less. A stronger China is in our best interests. Questions:

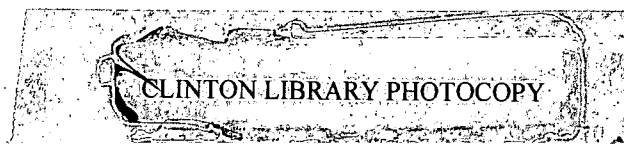
- (1) Will China develop in a way that pulls it into the international community, or will it develop outside the international system, become more nationalistic, doesn't come to grips with imperative for internal change?
- (2) Will it develop in a way that leads to more openness and freedom, or will it continue to deny personal freedoms and human rights?
- (3) Will China be a state that is able to deal with its own problems, or will it not be able to deal with the economic pressures now on the state, and collapse from within?

The WTO helps move China in the right direction on every question. In three ways.

- (1) First Argument: It brings China into the community of nations and forces China to adapt rules of law in its international commercial dealings.

Why is it good for China to be part of the international system? How do we know that they just won't cheat?

We assert that its good for China to be part of the international rule of law. But why is that so? After all, Iran is in NPR, but still makes nuclear bombs. Fact is, China's record in abiding by international regimes is good. Fact is, we'd rather have them inside the tent pissing out then outside the tent pissing in.



Mixed bag – obviously, there is a possibility that China's interests and ours in WTO will not converge (on labor rights, environmental standards, child labor, and all those other things that we raised in Seattle) – but if we are going to move WTO toward a broader recognition of its mandate beyond simple intellectual property rights disputes, China must be part of the equation, whether they are inside or outside the system.

(2) Second argument: this agreement supports what reformers in China are trying to do in their own economy, which will make them more viable in 20 years. This is a way of locking in Zhu's economic reforms which are good for economic growth, which is important to its stability.

It reinforces economic reform within China that they will have to do. China has a lot of people to feed, to house – they must have sense of hope and growth and optimism. Countries can move from an agrarian, rural economy to a low-tech, manufacturing economy with relatively little difficulty. The next stop from textiles to cars that people want to buy is harder. Other model is South Korea, who tried to grow behind walls of protection and when it opened, it collapsed because it made things nobody else wanted to buy. If the China market is opening, it forces them to be more competitive.

(3) Third argument: it forces change within China toward more freedom and openness

I don't believe that trade is a sufficient human right policy – the liberalizing effect of trade is a long-term process – in the meantime, a lot of members of the Falun Gong will end up in prison.

We must continue to speak out in every way – human rights – geneva, etc.

Doesn't make sense to stop trading with China – quite the opposite – in a information economy where China is headed, you cannot expect people to be creative economically and repressed politically – it is not viable – think of characteristics that a country needs to succeed in the 21st Century (Ken stuff here) – information rich, protecting personal property rights, need people to be entrepreneurial, highly organized workforce, skilled – can't encourage those characteristics economically without encouraging them socially

Why are we most dynamic economy in world – because we encourage an incredible degree of innovation and provide opportunity to express it freely – we are the model of qualities driving successful economies around the world. This is not a human rights policy in itself, but it reinforces the policy of human rights. By promoting individual initiative, creativity, and knowledge, it promotes evolution.

Once people plug into the knowledge economy, you can't just plug into the economic side, it's all or nothing.

There has to be toughness in this part of the speech – economic integration – globalization is not a human rights policy – Singapore is one of the most open economies in the world, but they still can people.



China has to come to grips with the fact that while opportunity has expanded and personal freedoms have grown (see Shanghai statistics), there is still a red zone around organized opposition to the party that is not sustainable over the long term – there will be a brittleness in that society which will hold them back – what's happening on the economic side empowers people and no amount of repression of those forces will be sustainable.

Find an appropriate Great Wall of China metaphor

Have a tough section on Falun Gong type stuff – biggest threat to the future of the Chinese Communist Party is their failure to change.

What are the 3 or 4 toughest questions somebody like Howard Berman would ask, and how would we address them?

Once China gets into the WTO, there will still be problems – will be plenty of problems out there. It doesn't address all the problems, like what will the norms be on the sale of sophisticated weapons, and questions across the Taiwan Straights.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	re: Beijing (2 pages)	01/21/2000	P1/b(1)
002. email	To Malcolm R. Lee from Kenneth G. Lieberthal. Subject: Draft China PNTR Q & A's (1 page)	01/28/2000	P1/b(1)
003. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning China speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

dup of Jan 202, 2002

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China II [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm203

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: Question about China (1 page)	05/16/2000	P5
002. contract	re: Construction (1 page)	05/09/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

Coast Guard Academy [3]

Jamie Metrailler

2008-0702-F

jm205

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

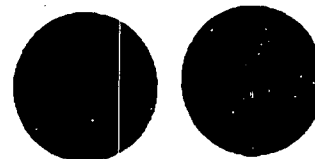
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)

Coast Guard Speech

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
 Sent: Tuesday, May 16, 2000 11:38 AM
 To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
 Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
 Subject: Question about China [UNCLASSIFIED]



Sandy,

Both Steve Ricchetti and Loretta Ucelli feel strongly that we need a paragraph on China PNTR in the Coast Guard speech. Loretta points out that both the Wall Street Journal and USA Today have mentioned that the USCGA may be a good place for POTUS to make a strong pitch for PNTR a week before the vote. Tom and I have drafted the following paragraph, to be included after the paragraph on old threats to our national security, before we lead into the discussion of new threats. Two questions: do you agree that China PNTR needs to be part of this speech? If so, do you agree with this language? Thanks.

One of the big question marks of the 21st Century is ~~going to be~~ China. Will China emerge as a partner or an adversary, as a society that is opening to the world or ~~lashing out at the world~~? Next week, we have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to ~~answer that question in the right way~~. There are people within China today who are working to ~~build a more cooperative relationship with the United States~~, to open their economy to outside competition and ideas - even if it risks unleashing forces of change they cannot control. If Congress votes to normalize trade relations with China, it will help move China in the right direction, ~~while creating jobs here at home~~. But if Congress votes no, it will strengthen the hand of those hard-liners in China who are opposed to change at any cost. It would be inviting a future of dangerous confrontation and constant insecurity. ~~It would be the worst possible blow to the best possible hope we have had in 30 years to encourage the right kind of change in China. I urge Congress to vote yes on China PNTR.~~

And we would be turning over to our competitors in Europe and Japan the largest

influence

confrontation



china-graph.516.doc

create good new jobs for our people

market in the world for our products and services. I can see opportunity that could help an country and create

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks on defending America's cyberspace (3 pages)	01/06/2000	P5
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

Cybersecurity Remarks [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm611

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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1/06/00 6:00 p.m.
Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON
DEFENDING AMERICA'S CYBERSPACE
WASHINGTON, DC
JANUARY 6, 1999**

Acknowledgements TK: Secretary Daley; President Rose, Dr. Lane, distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen: [protocol question -- would Sandy be acknowledged if he were in the audience but didn't have a speaking role?]

Last week, our world took time to look back on the last millennium and look ahead to the next one. One of the things that you realize is that there has never been a time quite like this one in which the power to create knowledge and the power to create havoc rest in the same exact hands.

We live in an age when one person sitting at one computer can come up with an idea, travel through cyberspace, and take humanity to new heights. Yet, we also live in an age when that same person can sit at the same computer, double-click on a mouse, hack into a computer system, and potentially paralyze an entire company, or city, or government. [Do we really want to say that a single person can potentially paralyze a government? But I'll defer to Dick et al. on this.] We are here today to take the next steps to defend our citizens and our nation from those who would use cyberspace to do us harm.

It was a week ago today that America held its collective breath and waited to see how the world would react to Y2K. I remember seeing one commercial that imagined two joggers running down a street on New Year's Day in which traffic lights failed, communication systems broke down, aircraft went haywire, and ATM Machines spit out dollar bills. But just because we dodged that bullet doesn't mean there wasn't a bullet to dodge. A crisis was averted only because thousands of talented people – in both the public and private sector – worked hard and spent billions to make sure our computer systems were ready for the test. Once again, I want to thank John Koskinen for the terrific job he did in coordinating our response to Y2K.

But while Y2K didn't render us helpless, it did remind us all over again how connected we all are. Fifteen years ago, critical systems like our power structures, water supplies, air traffic control, financial systems, and computer networks were separate and distinct. Today, they are all connected. Two years ago, we saw the enormous impact of a single failed electronics link when one satellite malfunction disabled pagers, ATM's, credit card systems, TV and radio networks worldwide. We saw it again last year, when another satellite malfunction disabled telephone services for an entire region, blinding a major airport, and endangering planes as they landed.

Those were accidents – and we ~~must~~ will continue [we are not taking all the steps we need to take even for accidents -- we need the things announced below for these, too] to take steps to ensure that in the event of natural disasters or human errors, our interconnected information systems remain strong. But as we've heard here today, we face other challenges that are not accidents. As our nation learns to master this new technology to do good, so do international terrorists, hackers, criminals, and potential adversaries who seek to disrupt our economy and damage our national security. They break into government and business computers. They raid banks, run

up credit card charges, disable systems, and extort money by threatening to unleash computer viruses.

Stopping them is not a job that the Federal Government can do alone. Because so many key components of our society are operated by the private sector, we must continue to build a public-private partnership to protect America in the 21st Century. Together, we must make our critical systems more secure, so that America can be more secure.

Three years ago, I established a commission chaired by Retired General Tom Marsh to begin to build that public-private partnership and to assess the vulnerability of our nation's critical infrastructures – the information, telecommunications, ~~computer networks that run banking and finance, transportation, energy, and other~~ systems on which our economy, our national security, and our way of life depend. *[Marsh Commission addressed ALL critical infrastructures, not just information]*, electricity and gas, and other critical infrastructures. We are taking three steps to strengthen that partnership.

First, we are publishing a National Plan to defend America's cyberspace. You will notice that this version is labeled "Version 1.0." We see this plan not so much as the end of the discussion, but the beginning of a dialogue with Congress, the American people, and private sector owners and operators of our critical systems to find the best solutions to protect our nation. This is a national challenge – and it must be a national effort.

From the work that we have already done, we know some of the elements that will be essential to meeting this challenge. One thing we know is the we need to do more to bring people into the field of computer security. There are literally tens of thousands of positions going unfilled today because we simply don't have people trained to work them.

That's why the second thing I have proposed is to create a new Cyber Corps that will offer college scholarships to students in the field of computer security in exchange for public service afterwards. The Cyber Corps will create a new generation of computer security specialists by training hundreds of experts who will work to defend our nation's own computers. Colleges like James Madison University are standing by right now to help us fill the void. I hope Congress will work with us this year to get it done.

Third, we need to to accelerate and broaden our research into computer security. I am therefore proposing the creation of a new institute that will fill key research gaps that neither public nor private sectors are meeting today. ~~coordinate efforts between the public and private sector.~~ *[WE DON'T WANT TO SAY "coordinate" in this way – saying that Institute will "coordinate" private sector research implies we will tell them what to do, which will spook industry]*–Today, information technology companies, the Pentagon, and the civilian side of the Federal government all fund computer research, including research in information security. However, top private sector experts – including my Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology – have made clear to me that today's research efforts have gaps that neither market forces or government research programs are going to fill. Things called "trap doors," "logic bombs," and "Trojan horses" are buried in millions of lines of computer code, yet no one entity is working to solve them all.

The institute – which we are calling the Institute for Information Infrastructure Protection – will bring ~~together to bear~~ [don't want to imply we are bringing them together to one place] the finest

computer scientists and engineers from the private sector, universities, and other research facilities to find ways to close these loopholes. We are not proposing a new bureaucracy, a new building, or a big organization. We want to build a flexible entity that will work directly with the private sector—~~largely through cyberspace~~—[not necessarily] to bring the nation's best technical expertise to bear on our most pressing computer challenges.

Those who would attack our computers are already hard at work with their research. We must be equally vigilant with ours. That is why, as part of the 2001 budget, I am requesting \$91 million {?? info security R&D as a whole is much bigger; the Institute is smaller) [?? – we're not going to break out the \$4 million and the \$50 million? What's the other \$41 mill for 00??] to help meet these challenges and enact these reforms.

Let me make very clear: I will work very hard to get these measure passed. I will continue to work equally hard to uphold the privacy rights and other constitutional protections of the American people, as well as the proprietary rights of American businesses. I have said it before: it is essential that we do not undermine liberty in the name of liberty. We can prevail over terrorism and protect our security by drawing on the very best in our free society – the skill and courage of our troops, the genius of our scientists and engineers, the strength of our factory workers, and determination and talents of our public sector, and the vision of leaders in every vital sector.

Information technology has helped create unprecedented prosperity at the end of the Twentieth Century. Let us work together to ensure that it creates unprecedented security as well in the Twenty-first Century. Thank you.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone No. (1 page)	12/05/1999	P6/b(6)
002. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Awards (6 pages)	12/03/1999	P5
003. memo	Address (Partial); Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	12/02/1999	P6/b(6)
004. email	Personal (1 page)	12/03/1999	P6/b(6)
005. email	To NSC Speechwriters from Steven J. Naplan. Subject: Ramadan (1 page)	12/04/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

Eleanor Roosevelt Speech [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm209

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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12/03/99 4:30 pm
Orzulak

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT HUMAN RIGHTS AWARDS
WASHINGTON, DC
DECEMBER 6, 1999

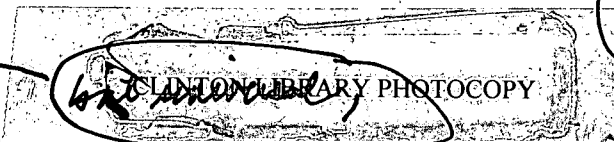
[Acknowledgments: First Lady; ~~National Security Adviser Berger~~, etc]

It occurs to me that at some point tonight, somebody in America will be flipping through channels, and they will come across the speech we just heard. They may stop and listen, or they may not. They may know what the Taliban is, or they may not. But I wonder if that person will stop and think even for a moment that in nearly half the world, doing what Belquis (Bel-KEYS) just did -- simply standing and speaking freely -- could get her arrested, jailed, beaten, and even tortured. And I wonder if that person will realize that until people like Eleanor Roosevelt came along, the rest of the world did not recognize ~~that her~~ ^{mean.} ~~the right or power to do anything about it.~~

~~a defense~~ ^{to speak out is an international right.}
Sometimes we forget how long it took the world to agree on what freedom actually meant. ^{a common definition -- a universal declaration of}
a century ago, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights said it in simple words: all human beings are free and equal in dignity and human rights. All are endowed with reason and conscience. All have the right to a standard of living adequate to health and well being. ~~In her~~
~~memoirs, Eleanor Roosevelt recalled that delegates from the Soviet Union kept trying to add the~~
~~words "these rights are guaranteed by the state." But that's the whole point -- they're not. No~~ (?)
~~state should have the power to take these rights away -- because no state has the power to grant~~
~~them in the first place.~~ ^{That's not us in disguise}

The real genius of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is that ^(true?) ~~for the first time, it said~~
that what a country does to people within its own borders is not its business alone, ~~It said to all~~
^{but the business of all of us.}
~~the world that what you do to your own people matters to all people~~

^{basic}
it affirmed that
human rights
are not cultural



achieve its aspirations.
We in the United States know how hard it is to ~~live up to its principles~~. One hundred years ago, Eleanor Roosevelt was a 15 year-old girl growing up in a country where women could not vote. Half a century ago, if the standards of the Universal Declaration were held up to segregated schools and lunch counters ~~in the South~~, we would have failed the test.

This Century has taught us that even though human rights are endowed by the hand of our Creator, they are ensured by the hearts and hands of men and women who inch by inch have moved our world forward. We are here today to honor five brave Americans whose lives have made a difference.

start
~~It is said that when Burke Marshall first met Robert Kennedy, they sat across a table for ten minutes and didn't say a single word.~~ But from that awkward moment sprang an extraordinary partnership. As Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the Kennedy Administration, he *was a bridge* bridged the gap between the government and those activists fighting every day to oust Jim Crow. John Lewis, who received this same award last year, once recalled that whenever Martin Luther King or James Farmer needed to talk to somebody in Washington, they would simply say: call Burke. His work was crucial to passing the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act. After he had helped shape a new America, Burke Marshall later worked equally hard to shape young minds at Yale Law School. I know - because Hillary and I were two of them. Burke, thank you for all you have done for our country.

*ALL-
= direct,
but all
we
saw?*
*Perhap
Burke
can now
tell us
who spoke
first.*
*[I wasn't
awkward;
they were
taking
each other's
measure
& suspect.
Different
ad.]*
When Leon Sullivan was eight years old, he walked into a grocery store, slapped a nickel on the counter, and said, "I want a Coke." The place being segregated South Carolina, the shopkeeper threw him out. *[to big a leap. what did he do in between? Civil Rights]* Reverend Sullivan went on to write the Sullivan Principles, which *called upon* encouraged companies around the world to *act in* socially responsible *fashion.* By compelling dozens of businesses to *pull* de-segregate their plants in South Africa, his work helped bring down apartheid. Today, as the author of the new Global Sullivan Principles, Leon Sullivan is still changing the world.

Reverend, thank you for keeping your eyes on the prize for nearly 80 years.

[Sullivan in U.S.? Heavens? ...]
BANCROFT LIBRARY PHOTO COPY

For those of you who wonder if there is a divine plan guiding our lives, consider this: in Spanish, the name Dolores Huerta means "sorrowful orchard." ^{But if Dolores} ~~Is she~~ has her way, her name will be the only sorrowful orchard ^{not} in America. Dolores Huerta began her career teaching young migrant children, but she couldn't stand seeing kids come to class hungry. So in 1962, she and Cesar Chavez co-founded the United Farm Workers. While Cesar Chavez worked the fields, Dolores Huerta worked the boardrooms and the state houses -- negotiating contracts and fighting for laws that have lifted the lives of thousands of Americans. Time has not slowed her down.

[Just last week, she was in Seattle -- where she was holding my feet to the fire] Dolores, thank you for all you are still doing to promote the dignity of millions of American workers.

rather
not
bring up
Seattle
now

It is no accident that when America opened its arms to Kosovar Albanians earlier this year, one of the first calls that went out was to a Dominican nun in the Fordham section of the Bronx. Scripture tells us that "if you spend yourselves on behalf of the hungry, and satisfy the needs of the oppressed, then your light will rise in the darkness and your night will become like noon day." If that's true, there are very few people who live their lives in more sunshine than Sister Jean Marshall. In 1983, Sister Jean founded St. Rita's Center for Immigrant and Refugee Services. In the days since, it has helped ~~more~~ ^{we} thousands of refugees -- from Vietnam to Cambodia to Bosnia. Sister Jean, ^{we} thank you for all you are doing to make democracy real and dreams come true for thousands fleeing human rights abuses.

Lastly, there are few people who have done more to directly build on Eleanor Roosevelt's work on women's rights around the world than Charlotte Bunch. Gloria Steinem once observed that for every question that comes up regarding women's rights, sooner or later someone asks, "what does Charlotte think?" As the founder of the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University, she has worked to build a world-wide network of activists. As a result, when the World Conference on Human Rights ^{was} held in Vienna in 1993, for the first time, there was a network in place to raise international awareness of issues like violence against women, and gay

and lesbian issues. And for the first time, the UN acknowledged that women's rights are human rights. Today, I think the best way to thank Charlotte Bunch is for the Senate to finally ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

We honor these five Americans today with the thanks of a grateful nation. But if we truly want to honor their work, we must stay committed in the places where the glory has not come yet, and continue to speak out for human rights around the world, from Burma to Cuba to Sudan, from Serbia, to North Korea and Vietnam. We must do so because it is the right thing to do – but also because it is the surest path to a world that is safe, democratic, and free.

In Afghanistan, we have worked with the United Nations to ~~impose~~ ^{impose} sanctions against the Taliban, while ensuring that the Afghan people continue to receive humanitarian assistance. We are Afghanistan's ~~largest~~ ^{strongest critic but also its largest humanitarian} donor and today we take another step forward. I am pleased to announce that next year, we will spend at least \$2 million to educate and improve the health of Afghan women and children refugees. We are also making an additional \$1.5 million available in emergency aid for those displaced by the recent Taliban offensive. And we are dramatically expanding our resettlement program for women and children who are not safe. But these are temporary solutions. We must continue to work until that day when Afghanistan has a government [as good as its people.]

*Jimmy Carter's 1976
campaign slogan!*

The whole world is also concerned about the plight of innocent people in Chechnya. Two weeks ago at the OSCE Summit in Turkey, I raised the issue directly with President Yeltsin. I made clear that Russia's fight against terrorism is right, but the methods it is using in Chechnya are ~~both wrongheaded and wrong~~ ^{both wrongheaded and wrong}. For weeks now, we have seen rocket and artillery attacks on largely civilian areas, with heavy losses of innocent life and at least 200,000 people pushed from their homes. Innocent Chechens are bearing the brunt of this war, ~~not~~ ^{just} the militants that Russia ~~is making is fighting~~ ^{says it is targeting}. But Russia is also paying a heavy price. With each passing day, Russia is sinking more deeply into a quagmire that will intensify extremism, ~~risk undermining democratic~~

freedom, and diminish its standing in the world.

~~It is not enough to give civilians escape routes from besieged cities, or to help them survive in refugee camps. Russia's friends are united in saying that there should be an end to indiscriminate attacks against civilians and a beginning to dialogue – not with terrorists, but with legitimate leaders willing to find a peaceful solution.~~

Another country about which we ~~must~~ continue to express concern is China. ^{progressing and} China is opening ^{that are welcome,} to the world today in many ways ~~we~~ are trying to encourage, including its entry into the WTO.

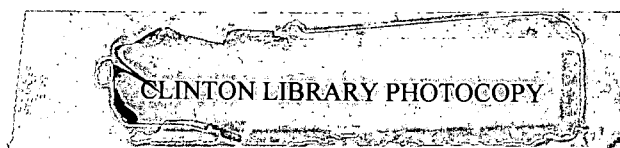
Yet its progress is still held back by its government's ^{response to} ~~insecurity~~ about those who test the limits of freedom. ^{political} A troubling recent example is the detention by Chinese authorities of adherents of the Falun Gong movement. ^{severed} ~~This crackdown has not gotten as much attention as its scale would suggest. Maybe that's because~~ ^{and} ~~its~~ ^{practices and} targets are not political dissidents, ~~or because~~ their beliefs are unfamiliar to us. But the principle is the same: freedom of conscience. And our interest is the same: seeing China maintain stability and growth at home by meeting, not stifling, the growing demands of its people for openness and accountability.

For all our challenges, we enter the new millennium more hopeful than we have been at any time the past 100 years. The second half of the Century began with 18 delegates coming together in ^{fact} the United States to write the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Century is ending with 18 nations having come together with the United States to reaffirm those basic rights in Kosovo. With progress from Indonesia and East Timor to Nigeria more than half the world's ^{now} people live in freedom ^{with governments of their own choosing} ~~not least because America was patient and persistent on their behalf.~~ We must build on that progress as we enter a new Century.

But we also know this work must begin at home. On the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated a book called "In Your Hands." On that day, she reminded us that "human rights begin — in small places, close to home — so close

and so small that they cannot be seen on any map. Yet they are the world of the individual person. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere." Today, we honor that message by honoring five people whose lives are testaments to those words. May their work inspire all of us for generations to come.

Commander, read the citations.



Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)

From: Naplan, Steven J. (MULTI)
Sent: Saturday, December 04, 1999 2:41 PM
To: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Cc: @NESASIA - NE/South Asia; @MULTILAT - Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Subject: Ramadan [UNCLASSIFIED]

Tom: it is my understanding that the version of Monday's speech which your office sent in for Sandy's review on Friday night did not include the simple introductory Ramadan greeting.

To reiterate, Eric Schwartz, Don Camp and I agree that there are good *foreign policy* reasons for POTUS to make a simple, respectful nod to Islam, as much of the rest of the event (FLOTUS remarks, Belquis Ahmadi's intro, and to a lesser extent POTUS' remarks) will be spent whacking a particularly extremist form of the faith.

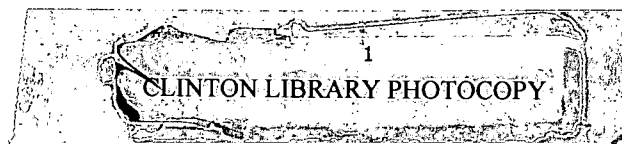
Additionally, A POTUS omission of Ramadan (still two days off and possibly not very present in his mind) might seem *particularly glaring* by comparison, in the quite possible event he does volunteer a "Happy Chanukah" for a holiday he will certainly know is underway.

As you know, I've suggested "Happy Chanukah to everyone now celebrating the festival of lights, and to our Islamic friends preparing for the rise of the new crescent moon, I wish you Ramadan Mubarak ..." and then right into the speech.

I hope you will take NESA's and Multilat's expressed preference, and our rationale(s), into consideration in future drafts for Sandy.

Thank you, Happy Chanukah, Ramadan Mubarak, Merry Christmas, Happy Kwanza and a belated Happy Diwali to all.

SN



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks to the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Awards (6 pages)	12/03/1999	P5
002. note	Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

Eleanor Roosevelt Speech [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm210

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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12/03/99 4:30 pm

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT HUMAN RIGHTS AWARDS
WASHINGTON, DC
DECEMBER 6, 1999**

[Acknowledgments: First Lady; ~~National Security Adviser Berger~~, etc]

It occurs to me that at some point tonight, somebody in America will be flipping through channels, and they will come across the speech we just heard. They may stop and listen, or they may not. They may know what the Taliban is, or they may not. But I wonder if that person will stop and think even for a moment that in nearly half the world, doing what Belquis (Bel-KEYS) just did -- simply standing and speaking freely -- could get her arrested, jailed, beaten, and even tortured. And I wonder if that person will realize that until people like Eleanor Roosevelt came along, the rest of the world did not recognize ^{that her} ~~the right or power to do anything about it.~~ (mean.)

~~a defend~~ To speak out is an international right.
Sometimes we forget how long it took the world to agree on what freedom actually ~~meant~~. a common definition -- a universal declaration of
a century ago, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights said it in simple words: all human beings are free and equal in dignity and human rights. All are endowed with reason and conscience. All have the right to a standard of living adequate to health and well being. ~~In her~~
~~memoirs, Eleanor Roosevelt recalled that delegates from the Soviet Union kept trying to add the~~
~~words "these rights are guaranteed by the state." But that's the whole point -- they're not. No~~ (?)
~~state should have the power to take these rights away -- because no state has the power to grant~~
~~them in the first place.~~ That's not us we disagree

The real genius of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is that ~~for the first time, it said~~ (are?)
that what a country does to people within its own borders is not its business alone, ~~it said to all~~
~~but the business of all of us.~~ (basic)
~~the world that what you do to your own people matters to all people~~
it affirmed that human rights are not cultural

achieve its aspirations.
 We in the United States know how hard it is to ~~live up to its principles~~. One hundred years ago, Eleanor Roosevelt was a 15 year-old girl growing up in a country where women could not vote. Half a century ago, if the standards of the Universal Declaration were held up to segregated schools and lunch counters ~~in the South~~, we would have failed the test.

This Century has taught us that even though human rights are endowed by the hand of our Creator, they are ensured by the hearts and hands of men and women who inch by inch have moved our world forward. We are here today to honor five brave Americans whose lives have made a difference.

start
 It is said that when Burke Marshall first met Robert Kennedy, they sat across a table for ten

~~minutes and didn't say a single word.~~ But from that awkward moment sprang an extraordinary

partnership. As Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the Kennedy Administration, he

was a bridge
 bridged the gap between the government and those activists fighting every day to oust Jim

Crow. John Lewis, who received this same award last year, once recalled that whenever Martin

Luther King or James Farmer needed to talk to somebody in Washington, they would simply

say: call Burke. His work was crucial to passing the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act.

After he had helped shape a new America, Burke Marshall later worked equally hard to shape

young minds at Yale Law School. I know - because Hillary and I were two of them. Burke,

thank you for all you have done for our country.

When Leon Sullivan was eight years old, he walked into a grocery store, slapped a nickel on the

counter, and said, "I want a Coke." The place being segregated South Carolina, the shopkeeper

threw him out. *[To big a leap. What did he do in between? Civil Rights]*

Reverend Sullivan went on to write the Sullivan Principles, which encouraged

companies around the world to *act in* socially responsible *fashion.* By compelling dozens of businesses to

de-segregate their plants in South Africa, his work helped *pull* bring down apartheid. Today, as the

author of the new Global Sullivan Principles, Leon Sullivan is still changing the world.

Reverend, thank you for keeping your eyes on the prize for nearly 80 years.

For those of you who wonder if there is a divine plan guiding our lives, consider this: in Spanish, the name Dolores Huerta means "sorrowful orchard." ^{But if, Dolores} ~~Isaiah~~ has her way, her name will be the only sorrowful orchard ^{left} in America. Dolores Huerta began her career teaching young migrant children, but she couldn't stand seeing kids come to class hungry. So in 1962, she and Cesar Chavez co-founded the United Farm Workers. While Cesar Chavez worked the fields, Dolores Huerta worked the boardrooms and the state houses -- negotiating contracts and fighting for laws that have lifted the lives of thousands of Americans. Time has not slowed her down. rather not bring up Seattle now

[Just last week, she was in Seattle -- where she was holding my feet to the fire] Dolores, thank you for all you are still doing to promote the dignity of millions of American workers.

It is no accident that when America opened its arms to Kosovar Albanians earlier this year, one of the first calls that went out was to a Dominican nun in the Fordham section of the Bronx. Scripture tells us that "if you spend yourselves on behalf of the hungry, and satisfy the needs of the oppressed, then your light will rise in the darkness and your night will become like noon day." If that's true, there are very few people who live their lives in more sunshine than Sister Jean Marshall. In 1983, Sister Jean founded St. Rita's Center for Immigrant and Refugee Services. In the days since, it has helped ~~more~~ ^{we} thousands of refugees -- from Vietnam to Cambodia to Bosnia. Sister Jean, ^{we} thank you for all you are doing to make democracy real and dreams come true for thousands fleeing human rights abuses.

Lastly, there are few people who have done more to directly build on Eleanor Roosevelt's work on women's rights around the world than Charlotte Bunch. Gloria Steinem once observed that for every question that comes up regarding women's rights, sooner or later someone asks, "what does Charlotte think?" As the founder of the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University, she has worked to build a world-wide network of activists. As a result, when the World Conference on Human Rights ^{was} held in Vienna in 1993 for the first time, there was a network in place to raise international awareness of issues like violence against women, and gay

and lesbian issues. And for the first time, the UN acknowledged that women's rights are human rights. Today, I think the best way to thank Charlotte Bunch is for the Senate to finally ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

We honor these five Americans today with the thanks of a grateful nation. But if we truly want to honor their work, we must stay committed in the places where the glory has not come yet, and continue to speak out for human rights around the world, from Burma to Cuba to Sudan, from Serbia, to North Korea and Vietnam. We must do so because it is the right thing to do – but also because it is the surest path to a world that is safe, democratic, and free.

In Afghanistan, we have worked with the United Nations to ~~impose~~ ^{impose} sanctions against the Taliban, while ensuring that the Afghan people continue to receive humanitarian assistance. We are Afghanistan's ~~largest~~ ^{strongest critic but also its largest humanitarian} donor and today we take another step forward. I am pleased to announce that next year, we will spend at least \$2 million to educate and improve the health of Afghan women and children refugees. We are also making an additional \$1.5 million available in emergency aid for those displaced by the recent Taliban offensive. And we are dramatically expanding our resettlement program for women and children who are not safe. But these are temporary solutions. We must continue to work until that day when Afghanistan has a government as good as its people.

*Jimmy Carter's 1976
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Commander, read the citations.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft India Parliament address (11 pages)	03/15/2000	P5
002. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks on science and technology (7 pages)	03/21/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

Hi-Tech - [India] [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
im613

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Hi-sonal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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India Parliament Address

Acknowledgements TK. I come here with a message of partnership and respect, from the ~~world's~~ oldest democracy to ~~the~~ largest.

Prime Minister Vajpayee has said India and America are natural allies, and I agree. We are two nations conceived in liberty. Each finding strength in its diversity. Each building on the other's insights and achievements. Each seeing in the other's strivings a reflection of our own aspirations for a more humane and just world.

A poet once said that the world's inhabitants can be divided into "those that have seen the Taj Mahal and those that have not." Well, in a few hours, I'll have a chance to cross over to the happier side of that divide myself. But I also believe that in a far more important way, the world can be divided between those who have seen India and sought to learn from it, and those who have not. I have come here partly in hopes that my visit ~~and the news it generates~~ will help the American people see the new India and to understand it better.

And yet I can't help but worry: What taglines will the journalists who've come with me use to sum up the India they see? Will it be atomic weapons or ahimsa? A land still struggling against poverty and inequality, or the world's largest middle class society? A simmering stew of tensions, or history's most successful melting pot? Will it be Bollywood or Satyajit Ray? Swetha Chetty¹ or Alla Rakha²? The handloom or the hyperlink? Hyderabad - or "Cyberabad"³

Let's hope they conclude, as the novelist and diplomat Shashi Tharoor has written, that "India is more than the sum of its contradictions." And let's just accept that whatever they write, the

¹ Indian pop music star

² Revered classical musician, recently passed away

³ Common nickname for Hyderabad

headlines will be wrong. Even a first time visitor like me can see that no single ~~catchphrase~~ ^{image} can possibly capture the multi-layered complexity of your country.

I also hope they will convey the lessons India teaches us, and the false assumptions your experience contradicts. One of those lessons is about democracy.

[A generation ago, Time Magazine wrote that the people of India would rather be "fed than free." Today] there are still those who deny democracy is a universal aspiration, who say it works only for people of a certain culture or degree of economic development. India has been proving them wrong for 51 years. Here is a country where more than 2 million people hold elected office in local

government, a country that shows at every election that those who possess the least cherish their vote the most. And none of this freedom has washed the uniqueness of your civilization away. On the contrary, it has brought out its varied strands; it is also the glue that holds them together.

A second lesson India teaches is about diversity.

Look around the world and you will find a chorus of voices who say ethnic and religious diversity is a ~~drawback~~ ^{threat}, who argue the only way to keep different people from killing one another is to keep them apart. But India has shown us a better way. For all the troubles you have seen, surely on this subcontinent more innocents have been hurt in efforts to divide people by ethnicity and faith than in efforts to unite them. Under trying circumstances, you have shown the world how to live with difference. You have shown us that this quality is the key to our survival. And that is something the whole world needs to learn.

A third lesson India teaches is about globalization -- and it relates to what may be the central debate of our time.

Many people believe that globalization is inherently divisive, that it can only widen the gap between rich and poor nations. That is a valid fear. But as the distance between producers, large and small, and customers, near and far, becomes less and less relevant, there will also be great opportunities for developing countries that make the right choices. And India is proving it.

You liberated your markets, and now you have one of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world. ^[factoids] You embraced information technology, and now, when Americans call Microsoft for help ^{on others around the world}

with their software, they're more likely to find themselves talking to an expert in Bangalore than in Seattle. You decentralized authority, giving more individuals and communities the freedom to ^[TRUE?]

succeed. In that way, you affirmed what so many nations have found in the last decade:

globalization doesn't favor countries with a "licensing raj."⁴ It does favor countries with a panchayat raj⁵. And now the world is beating a path to your door.

Every great country struggles with the question: how do we define our greatness? How do we forge a trail that ^{future generations will benefit from and follow?} ~~others will follow?~~ Every country, America included, is ~~sometimes~~ tempted to

think that we owe our influence mostly to our military and economic might. But true leadership, ^{for the United States and India, [?]} derives more from the power of our example than from the example of our power. And I believe

that the greatest of India's many gifts to the world is the example its people have set: of faith in democracy, tolerance in diversity, and confidence in change.

That is why we admire India. That is why we welcome India's leadership in this region and beyond. That is why we view India as a strong candidate to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. That's why we want to take our partnership to a new level, by joining to advance our common interests, and by resolving the important differences that still remain. And today, I ask for your help.

[doing what?]

⁴ old name for highly restrictive centralized bureaucracy

⁵ decentralized village government

long periods *our two nations*
 Of course, there have been ~~times~~ when ~~we~~ failed to understand each other well. The Cold War drove a wedge between us. A North-South chasm once separated us. Even with a common starting point and a common destination India and America have not always managed to walk side by side.

at least it seems we are pushing things that we're not really attacking forests. no word, it's fair all more stable
 But times and circumstances have changed. Around the world, a battlefield of ideologies has been replaced by a marketplace of ideas. Barriers between nations and peoples, economies and cultures are being replaced by vast networks of commerce and cooperation. With our open, entrepreneurial societies, India and America are at the center of those networks. We have more common global interests than ever before. And it is clear to me that the peace, prosperity and freedom of the 21st century world will be determined to a large degree by our success in advancing them together.

Our most fundamental common interest is to sustain the global movement toward economic openness, democracy and integration that sustains our ~~own~~ freedom and prosperity. To advance it, we must begin by getting our own economic relationship on the firmest possible ground.

today
 America is India's biggest partner in trade and investment. As you launch your next wave of economic reforms, as your economy continues its rapid growth, even more Indians and Americans will benefit from our economic ties. We are determined to seize this opportunity together, especially in the cutting edge fields of information technology, biotechnology, and clean energy.

investment
 I know that in South Asia, as in every part of the world, the arrival of foreign ~~capital~~ *international* investment is sometimes met with resistance. But the fact is, ~~foreign~~ investment has fueled growth in every thriving emerging economy from Latin America to central Europe. It helped build America in 19th century. Attracting it is one of our highest priorities today. In India, foreign investors are contributing state of the art technology, advances in clean energy, and most important, growth in human capital. Openness to investment is bringing Indians who have succeeded overseas back home, and it is

[This leads to their dependence, before honoring their independence/engine of growth that is internal]

encouraging Indians who might otherwise have looked overseas to stay. So we both have a stake in reducing the remaining impediments to trade and investment between us. *we*

We also have a common stake in sustaining global economic growth in a way that lifts the lives of

rich and poor alike. It is just unacceptable that part of the world today lives at the cutting edge of a new economy, while a big part still exists at the edge of survival. *[A new add on metaphor would be nice here, an image]*

merely a south Asian crisis or an African crisis. Around the corner or across the world, abject poverty is an affront to our common humanity and a threat to our common prosperity. *can be turned upside down: plugged in/telephone? chip?*

Trade alone will not carry the burden of lifting nations out of poverty. We need to invest in education and literacy, so children *can have soaring dreams* and the tools to *realize* them. Above all, *we*

especially must make a continued commitment to the education of girls. Everything we have learned about development in this century tells us that when women have access to knowledge, to health, to economic opportunity, and to civil rights, children thrive, families succeed, and countries prosper. *care*

To promote development, we need to conquer the diseases that kill not only people but progress in much of the world. Last December you immunized 140 million Indian children against polio – the largest single public health effort in history. *human* *For 9 years I have* *This July when* I am urging our partners in the G-8 to join us, and some of our pharmaceutical companies have already begun to respond. But *meet in Japan, I will urge them to join us. This effort.*

even if we all succeed, effective vaccines are years away. Especially for AIDS, we need a commitment today to prevention, and that means straight talk and an end to stigmatization. As

Prime Minister Vajpayee has said, no one should ever speak of AIDS "as someone else's problem." I thank him for his leadership, and I promise you America's partnership in this common struggle. *big problem for us, over bigger problem for you, does that help?*

To promote development, we must also stand with those struggling for human rights and democracy around the world. For as the Indian economist Amartya Sen has pointed out, no system *[Eron - J]*

of government has done a better job in easing human want and averting human catastrophes than democracy. And India knows what it's like to live close to nations like Burma and Afghanistan, which trample on the rule of law while exporting both drugs and new strains of AIDS across borders. I am proud that America and India will stand together on the right side of history at the first meeting of the Community of Democracies in Warsaw this summer.

So let me say again, trade cannot alone achieve the goals we seek. But without trade and the growth it brings, nothing we do for education or health or democratic empowerment is going to make a decisive difference for those in need. That's why I hope we will work together to launch a new global trade round that will promote development. I've long believed that trade should not be a race to the bottom in the international economy. But nor should anyone use fears about trade to keep part of our global community forever at the bottom.

One of the benefits of the World Trade Organization is that it has given developing countries a bigger voice in trade, and they have used it to urge richer nations to open their markets further so that all have a chance to grow. That is something the opponents of the WTO don't fully appreciate yet. We need to remind them that the Indian and Brazilian and Indonesian delegates who were ~~inside~~ ^{at} trade talks in Seattle spoke not for some narrow corporate interest, but for a huge part of humanity that has no interest in being "saved" from development.

But we also need to remind ourselves that those who were outside those talks spoke for a large part of humanity, too. The part that believes trade should contribute not just to the wealth but fairness of societies. The part that shares Pandit Nehru's dream of a "structure for living that fulfills our material needs and at the same time sustains our mind and spirit." We can advance these values without engaging in rich country protectionism. Indeed, to sustain a consensus for open trade, we must find a way to do so. That is my motivation -- my only motivation -- in seeking a discussion about the connections between labor, the environment and trade in development.

We should also recognize that it is possible now for developing economies to grow without making

~~some of the~~
~~the same mistakes on worker protection and the environment that developed countries made on~~
~~their path to industrialization. It is possible to grow an economy faster, for example, by keeping~~

~~when~~
~~children in school instead of at work. For the globalized economy prizes human development~~

~~above all else. And knowledge will be to the 21st century what oil was to 20th -- a priceless~~
~~commodity -- except that knowledge can be tapped by all and it will never run out.~~

again, only
that is what
it means
if you're
reading Clinton
speeches
before

We must also find ways to achieve robust growth while protecting the environment and reversing
climate change -- and I'm convinced that we can do that as well. We will see, in the next few
years, automobiles that are three or four times as efficient as those we drive today. Soon, scientists
will almost certainly unlock the chemical block that will allow us to produce eight gallons of fuel

from farm products, or even farm waste, for one gallon of gasoline. Indian and American scientists
are at the forefront of research into cleaner energy -- and I commend you for your plans to improve
energy efficiency, which will strengthen your economy, clean the air in your cities and help fight
global warming. The Kyoto climate change negotiations will spur even greater investment and
newer technologies -- and seizing those opportunities should be a vital part of our new partnership.

can we
improve
this with
an
example
from
India?

If we do these things, the global movement toward open markets and open societies will move
ahead in a way that lifts the quality of all our lives. But advancing that common vision is not
enough; there are threats to it we must meet together as well.

there's
a structure
in here
somewhere
but I
can't find it

[sentence of powerful rhetoric]

One danger Indians and Americans know all too well is terrorism. I'm pleased we have launched a
working group to strengthen our cooperation against this scourge. We are working side by side as
well to stop the flow of illegal drugs. We are cooperating to end the cruel traffic in women and
girls, which is becoming a modern form of slavery.

This is
now
sounding
like
State of
Union

Wow!

We must also keep working to resolve our differences on nuclear proliferation, which I believe

poses the greatest danger to the security of both our nations in the 21st century. [Now, I know you

may meet what I say about this with some degree of skepticism. I saw an Indian magazine article a

couple of weeks ago that portrayed the five NPT nuclear powers as a group of children who keep

all the candy to themselves, while preaching to the other children that candy is bad for them. It's

an understandable comparison, but if you'll permit me, I think it's a superficial one as well.] Since

1988, the United States has dismantled more than 13,000 nuclear weapons. We have agreed to the

outlines of a treaty with Russia that will reduce our remaining arsenal by more than half. We are

producing no more fissile material for nuclear weapons and no new ballistic missiles. [We are

committed ultimately to eliminating these weapons from the face of the earth. And we do not

believe that goal is advanced if any country in any region is moving in the opposite direction.

~~I realize~~ only India can calculate its self interest. ~~no one can tell you how to protect your own~~

~~security~~. Only India can ~~know~~ ^{decide} if it truly is safer today than it was before the tests. Only India can

decide if it can afford a sustained investment in both conventional and nuclear forces while meeting

its goals for human development. These are questions others can ask, but only you can answer.

But I can speak to you about America's own experience with nuclear arms. During the Cold War,

we were geographically distant from the Soviet Union. We were not engaged in direct armed

combat. We each had a good idea of the other's capabilities, doctrines and intentions. We each

spent billions on elaborate command and control systems - nuclear weapons are not cheap. ~~We~~

~~each went to great lengths (through direct dialogue with our adversary) to reduce the risk of launch~~

~~in a crisis~~. And ^{yet,} ~~still,~~ we came far too close to nuclear war ^{on a number of occasions.}

We learned then that deterrence alone cannot prevent accident and miscalculation. In a nuclear

standoff, nothing is more dangerous than believing there is no danger.

I can also repeat what I said at outset. India is a leader, a great nation, which, by virtue of its size, achievements and example has the potential to shape the character of our times. For any of us, to claim that mantle, to assert that status, is to accept, first and foremost that our actions have consequences for others. A small provincial nation can act solely in accordance with its own narrowly defined self-interest. Nations with broader horizons cannot. We must consider whether our actions advance or hinder what Nehru called "the larger cause of humanity."

And I am concerned that India's nuclear policies have had consequences well beyond its borders, eroding the political, psychological, and moral barriers against the testing and spread of nuclear weapons, breaking faith with nations that have chosen to forswear these weapons, encouraging those who seek them for dangerous ends. But I ~~also~~ believe that if India's nuclear tests shook the world, India's leadership for non-proliferation can move the world.

India and the United States have reaffirmed our commitment to forego nuclear testing. But in our own self interest, we can do more. We should join the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which requires nothing more of India than it requires of the United States. We should work to launch negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. We should strengthen export controls. India can pursue restrained defense policies in keeping with its commitment not to seek a nuclear or missile arms race. Let us continue our dialogue on these issues, and turn it into a real partnership against proliferation. If we make progress in narrowing our differences, we will both be more secure, and our relationship can reach its full potential.

[need some transition]

I hope progress can also be made in overcoming the sources of tension in this region, including tensions between India and Pakistan.

I share many of your government's concerns about the course Pakistan is taking, and your disappointment that past overtures have often met with provocations. I know it is hard to be a

say that we want to go to 12?
do we want to before 10c

democracy in a neighborhood where so many governments reject democracy. But I also believe India bears a special responsibility to show its neighbors that democracy is about dialogue. It is about building, if not friendship, then at least functional relationships among people who differ.

One of the wisest things anyone has ever said to me is "you don't make peace with your friends" ^{rather "functional" word} that was Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before he signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians. Engagement with ~~our~~ ² adversaries is not the same thing as endorsement. It does not require setting legitimate grievances aside. Indeed, I strongly believe that what has happened in this region since your Prime Minister went to Lahore only reinforces the need for a dialogue that will diminish the threat to India's security while easing the bitterness of innocents caught in the crossfire. I can think of no realistic solution to this problem that can be achieved any other way. After all, what can truly be gained in a contest of inflicting and enduring pain?

As I have said before, I have not come to South Asia to mediate the Kashmir dispute. Only India and Pakistan can work out the problems between them. And I will tell General Musharraf the same thing when I go to Islamabad. But if outsiders can't resolve this for you, I hope you will seize every possible opportunity to do it yourselves, calling on the support of the international community where that is appropriate, as you did during Kargil. ^{And if the United States is not directly involved, I hope you will understand that we cannot be disinterested in the outcome.} ^{rather simple}

(India did not)

^{myself and}
^{ident}
^{at}
^{these}
¹²
These, I believe, are the principal common challenges India and the United States face. Each call for a closer, more institutionalized partnership. Some call for candid discussion of difficult issues.

Our relationship is mature enough to make that possible.

between India and the United States.

I have read that one of the unique qualities of Indian classical music is its elasticity - the composer lays down a foundation, a structure of melodic and rhythmic arrangements, but the player has to improvise within that structure to bring the *raga* to life. Our relationship is like that, too. The

Those who came before us put in place
~~composers of our past gave us~~

life
~~spontaneous expression~~ to those ideals, in keeping with our circumstances and our times. The melodies do not ~~always~~ have to be the same to be beautiful. But if we listen to each other and strive to realize our vision together, we will build a whole far greater than the sum of its parts.

symbols

notes

This is what we could be given if we play together.

is is better one; did be t least e re to
 If we listen to each other, Americans will understand better the scope of India's achievements and the dangers it still faces in this troubled part of the world. If we listen to each other, Indians will understand better that America wants you to succeed. Time and again, America has found that it is the weakness of great nations, not their strength, that threatens our vision for tomorrow. So we want India to be strong, to be secure, to be united, to be a force for a safer, more prosperous and democratic world.

Twenty-two years ago, President Carter visited India. It was the first day of a new year. I have the great privilege of meeting you in the first year of a new millennium, at what I hope will be the opening chapter of a qualitatively new partnership between India and the United States. It has been a long time in coming, but this is our historic chance. Today, I pledge to you my best efforts to seize it, and I ask for yours as well.

Mixed metaphor from music

Thank you.

another "functional" word

*What is it?
New partnership?
Partnership?*

could use a bit more lift at end

3/21/00 11:00 a.m.
Orzulak

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
HI-TECH CITY
HYDERABAD, INDIA
MARCH 24, 2000

An historian once wrote that "India is the world's most ancient civilization, yet one of its youngest nations." I am pleased to be here today in this ancient city that is doing so much to drive one of the world's youngest industries.

One of the great [personal joys] of being President for me has been the opportunity to be involved with people who are pushing the frontiers of science and technology, and to study subjects that I haven't really thought about since I was in my late teens.

I have to tell you from the start: one of the standing jokes at the White House when I took office was that I was somewhat challenged both ~~scientifically~~ and technologically. Terms you use in this city every day had very different meanings for me. When I was growing up, chips were something you ate, windows were something you washed, discs were something you played, and semiconductors were small musicians.

During the holiday season last year, my staff challenged me to order gifts over the Internet. One thing I learned is that with one click of a mouse I could order food from one of my favorite restaurants in my home state of Arkansas, and have it delivered directly to my door. It was at that moment that I realized that the 21st Century may have more for me than I originally thought.

All of you are using the Internet in slightly more creative ways. I want to talk for a few minutes today about what our two nations can do together to use these new breakthroughs in science and technology to help people in both of our countries live better lives.

→ Bul

I think that
one needs work.

What is the

theme? Technology

is god good? Doesn't

seem to have any

larger message, or

address the clearly

equity issues presented

by this modern

bit much

he probably

has

economy in the

midst of so much

vast. Also about 2

pages too long.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

There has never been a time like this in which science and technology are so ^{rapidly and} fundamentally changing the world in which we live. Today, the entire store of human knowledge is doubling every five years. In just the eight years since I became President, we've sent robots to Mars; seen animals cloned; and we are less than a year away from completing the human genome, the string of three billion letters that make up our genetic code, which could help us prevent and ultimately cure illnesses from Alzheimer's to diabetes to cancer.

But there is no place where this change is being felt more than in the field of information technology. When I was elected President, there were 50 sites on the World Wide Web. Today there are more than 100 million Internet users in America alone, and more than 275 million worldwide. Here in India, the number of Internet users is expected to grow by more than ~~1,000~~ ^{a thousand times} ~~person~~ ^{person} over the next four years. It is changing ^{virtually} ~~almost~~ everything about our lives. ^{apples and oranges}

Over the past few months, I have ^{visited} ~~had the opportunity to visit~~ some of the people who are leading this revolution. Two months ago, I met with students at the California Institute of Technology, which plays a major role in our Silicon Valley. A month ago, I met with employees at an Internet company in the northern part of our state of Virginia, a place that now has more high-tech firms than it had farms in 1970, when it led its region in milk production. That's one of the reasons it has been called "Silicon Valley East." But after touring this marvelous facility today, I think there is one more place that may be able to lay claim to that title. ^{do they like that analogy or do they find it patronizing}

The success of this industry has been nothing short of phenomenal. As you know well, ten years ago, India's high-tech industries pumped out software and computer-related services worth \$150 million. Last year, that number grew to \$4 billion. Today this industry employs more than 280,000 people, and these are jobs that generally pay 80 percent more than average. It's little wonder that Hyderabad is quickly becoming known as "Cyberabad." ^{↓ I WOULD SAY OK IF HE SAID, BUT THE WORLD KNOWS - AND I SEE THE EVIDENCE TODAY - THERE IS ANOTHER PLACE...}

too colloquial

Of course, this comes as no surprise to those who know India's great history. This is the land that taught the world how to count. India gave the world the decimal system, numbers one through nine, and the all-important zero. If it weren't for India's contributions in math and science, computers, satellites, and silicon chips never would have been possible.

*as you
sure there
were not
earlier
counting
systems e.g.
in Egypt*

Today, the intellectual heirs of ancient scribes like Aryabhatya [are-yah-BAH-tee-yah] are running companies with names like Infosys, Wipro, and Satyam. All of you here today are helping to drive markets and innovation around the world. I want to take a moment to commend Chief Minister Naidu [nigh-DO] for his tireless efforts, to promote the work being done in this city, and to bring on-line services into the lives of people throughout Hyderabad.

USE for DRIVERS LICENSES ETC.

*give example
of what this
means in
people's lives*

parallels the success of Indian now in
Your success comes as no surprise to America. For more than a generation, people of Indian descent have played a major role in the success of our software industry: from Vinod Dham, who created the Pentium Chip; to Kanwal Rekhi, who helped create Internet protocol; to Vinod Khosla, who helped create Sun Microsystems; to Sabeer Bhatia, who created the free e-mail system "Hotmail." In fact, Americans of Indian descent now run more than 750 companies in Silicon Valley alone. In turn, many of them are turning their attention back home and investing in India. One ambitious project, a partnership of Americans and Indians, proposes to raise one billion dollars for a Global Institute of Science and Technology in India. I hope they succeed.

*Conduct
was in
parliament
speech*
After welcoming your engineers to our shores, today many of our leading companies – from Apple to Texas Instruments to Oracle – are coming in waves to your shores. I'm told that if a person calls Microsoft for help with their software, there's a pretty good chance they'll find themselves talking to an expert in India rather than Seattle. ~~From everything I have seen, it is clear that~~ India is fast becoming one of the software superpowers of the world.

I am pleased we made progress this week to strengthen our cooperation on these issues. We agreed to continue the WTO moratorium on applying customs duties to electronic transmissions;

*(check
all
this)*

to seek commitments by third countries to open their markets for services related to high-tech industries; to support the conclusion of the second Information Technology Agreement to lower duties on high-tech products even further; and to set a good example by agreeing to use only legally licensed software. I am especially pleased that two of our leading private sector associations -- our U.S.-India Business Council and your [name] -- have launched a new dialogue this week to increase trade in these areas in a way that will lift the lives of people in both of our countries.

I want to
[The world needs to know what is happening here. In some ways, the future of information technology will help determine the future of India. But through your experience, you are proving something even more profound: you are proving that in a globalized world, developing nations can not only succeed, they can lead.]

A century ago, the world operated on the gold standard. Today, the world operates on the information standard, ~~where education is key~~ *measured in terms of education*. One of the reasons why India is finding so much success is because 50 years ago, Prime Minister Nehru had the vision to invest in the creation of the Indian Institutes of Technology. I am proud that the United States helped with the early development of IIT Kanpur. Today, not only are IIT graduates leading the information revolution, India has the second-largest pool of trained scientists and engineers in the world.

Of course so much
But there is a lot of work left to do. As you know well: millions of Indians may be connected to the Internet, but millions more aren't even connected to sources of fresh drinking water. India may account for 30 percent of the world's software engineers, but it also accounts for 25 percent of the world's childhood deaths, and nearly half of the world's malnourished.

There are some who look at the disparity and say that the changes India has embraced aren't working, that it should turn away from the world. But if that argument had been applied to the Indian Institutes of Technology after their first decade, they would have closed. ~~In my country,~~

we have found that growth doesn't happen overnight. Our experience is that great goals are not reached all at once, but step by step, always building on progress, always gaining ground.

*doesn't answer
the inequality
argument*

In my country, information technology industries and firms make up just eight percent of our economy, but have driven 30 percent of our growth. We have found that there is a ripple effect. Just as Henry Ford's assembly line boosted productivity across all sectors of the American economy, information technology is making companies of all kinds more competitive. It's also begun to contribute to a decrease in income inequality.

Your colleagues in America always remind me that the Internet grew out of government-funded research. That's one of the reasons why I have called for a record \$2.8 billion increase in our 21st Century Research Fund, which includes a 36 percent increase in information technology, and more than double the largest increase in 50 years for National Institute of Science. I want to applaud Prime Minister Vajpayee for proposing a record increase in India's S&T budget.

*really?
I find that
strange*

This is not about creating a ~~bunch~~ ^{to score} of new 25 year-old multi-millionaires, or seeing the latest Indian start-ups shoot up the Nasdaq register. For all the dazzling new capabilities of the information revolution, we must never forget that our newest technology must be a vehicle to deepen our oldest values, and achieve a higher purpose.

This morning, I was at a clinic in Mahavir. I helped immunize a child against polio. Together, we have nearly eradicated this disease from the face of the earth. But tuberculosis is still a major problem; malaria is on the rise; and India ranks first in the world in the number of HIV/AIDS cases. These are global problems. Our scientists must continue to work together to accelerate our research into effective treatments and vaccines.

In Agra, I saw some of the efforts local citizens are making to clean the air, and protect the Taj Mahal. We have found that with new technology, we can clean our air and water while growing

*Clinton -
not for
US
audience*

*again,
Paul,
let's avoid
strong
President
can speak
plainly
but still
sound like
a President*

*[This is
how
the
Clinton
talks]*

our economy. This week, we are establishing a Green Business Center here in Hyderabad to bring the private sector and local government together to promote clean energy development and environmental technology.

Another global challenge is malnutrition. India helped pioneer the green revolution. Now *last sense of continuity w/ speech.* we are looking to a new frontier. Indian and American scientists in the biotechnology industry are *Another paragraph is about...* working together to pioneer the use of new crops that are more resistant to pests and diseases, more nutritious, and have higher yields per acre. In this decade, India is likely to pass China as the world's most populous nation. Now is the time to intensify our cooperation, so that food is plentiful and hunger is scarce. *↓*

Just think what this new technology could mean for culture. I know there are some who worry that globalization will produce a world where the cultural gifts nations and peoples bring to the world are worn away. I think tools like the Internet can not only protect indigenous cultures, but empower them in new ways. *You can do more without running into this problem. have list.* Last holiday season, I also bought some gifts on-line from a Native American reservation in Pine Ridge, in our state of South Dakota. *I think we've used this lead* Unemployment at Pine Ridge is 70 percent, in part its because people don't want to leave their land, which is physically distant from markets and consumers. With the Internet, they can spread the gifts of their culture far and wide without leaving their land.

What does that mean for India, a country with 17 officially recognized languages and some 22,000 dialects? Well, you can get on the Internet today and find dozens of sites that bring together people who speak Telugu [TELL-oo-goo] from every part of the world. You can download fonts in Gujarati [Goo-jah-RAH-tee], Marathi [Mah-RAH-tee], Assamese [Ah-sah-MEEZE], and Bengali. You can order handicrafts made by people in every part of India, and know that *people are finding markets for the* the proceeds are going to people in need. The more we can find ways to empower people with this new technology, the more we can build a truly global economy.

I am pleased to announce that through our U.S. Agency for International Development, we are going to be providing \$5 million to bring the Internet to schools and businesses in underserved areas in rural India. This has the power to change lives. My trip here this week is about building a stronger partnership between our two nations at every level, and science and technology must be part of that equation. Two days ago in Delhi, I signed an agreement to create an Indo-U.S. Science and Technology Forum to bring together eminent scientists from both of our nations to discuss the future course of our scientific cooperation. In addition, today, the top science minds in the governments of our two nations are sitting down together to begin a dialogue on ways we can conduct new research across the full range of scientific frontiers.

Nearly 70 years ago, Albert Einstein said, "Never forget this, in the midst of your diagrams and equations: concern for man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavors." In the days ahead, may we heed those words and work together to create a world that is not just better off, but better; may we judge success not just by the number of networks we connect, but by the number of people we connect; may we endeavor not just to create better computers, but better communities and a better world.

As we think about the future of cyberspace, let's remember that the word "cyber" comes from the Greek word "kybernavtis," meaning helmsmen, the one who steers that ship. That's what we all need to be. Let's work together to chart a course toward a brighter century and a brighter future. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft Kosovo paragraph for Carleton College commencement (1 page)	n.d.	P5
002. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton statement following the memorial service for Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi (3 pages)	06/06/2000	P5
003. email	To distribution list from Matt Gelman. Subject: Softball game (2 pages)	05/31/2000	P6/b(6)
004. memo	re: Personal real estate (3 pages)	06/02/2000	Personal Misfile
005. fax	re: Personal real estate (5 pages)	06/01/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Japan, Germany, and Kosovo] [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm213

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

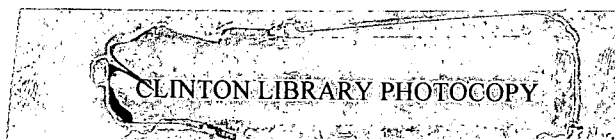
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Draft Kosovo paragraph for Carleton College Commencement

As we celebrate your graduation here today, America ^{marks} celebrates an anniversary. It was one year ago today that Serbian military forces began their withdrawal from Kosovo. One year later, troops from more than 40 nations – including 4,500 Americans – are working to bring Kosovo ^{ch} back to life. Visitors to Kosovo today tell me that the sound of gunfire has been replaced by the sound of jackhammers as roads, homes, and schools are rebuilt. More than a million refugees have returned home. More than 15 million mines have been cleared. More than 4,000 locally-trained police will soon hit the streets. A new constitution is being drafted. A new government structure is in place. And this fall, the people of Kosovo will go to the polls to vote in the first democratic elections in Kosovo's history. ^{Make no mistake: There's} ~~We've got~~ a lot of work left to do, but America did the right thing in standing up to Slobodan Milosevic. I think we should all be proud of our men and women in uniform. They not only won the war – today, they are ^{helping secure} ~~securing~~ the peace.

been asky - notes promised
in Feb - bottled 100 hrs
or so hrs -
love to get that
schedule!



6/6/00 12:00 p.m.
Orzulak

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
STATEMENT FOLLOWING
THE MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR
PRIME MINISTER KEIZO OBUCHI
TOKYO, JAPAN
JUNE 8, 2000

pay my respects
I came here today to say ~~goodbye~~ *to an old friend*. On behalf of the American people, I want to extend our deepest condolences to Prime Minister Obuchi's wife Chizuko; his daughters Akiko and Yuko; his son Takeshi; and the people of Japan.

~~[Over the past week, I have traveled across Europe to Russia, back to America, and now here to Japan. In a way, it reminds me of the first time I came here to Tokyo to visit Prime Minister Obuchi back in 1998. He had just finished a busy week in which he had traveled from Russia to the APEC leaders meeting and back. I had spent the week moving between peace negotiations at Wye River and dealing with our conflict in Iraq. At the State Dinner, the Prime Minister joked that short sleeping hours and hard schedules had become a solid bond between us. Somewhere, he is probably smiling about the fact that I had to travel 12,000 miles to be here today.]~~

He understood that our difficult schedules were only a testament to the vital responsibility our two nations have for peace and prosperity in the world. It's a responsibility he took seriously, ~~and a role he played well.~~

week pm, can stretch
Two years ago, Prime Minister Obuchi took office at a difficult time for Japan and for the world. There were many who wondered if any person could meet the tremendous challenges brought on by the global economic crisis we faced. I think history will record that Keizo Obuchi was the *little made. week pm.*
[right person at the right place at the right time.] Thirty-six years ago, he was the youngest person *we can stretch*
ever elected to the Japanese Parliament. In that time, it's clear that he learned how to reach out

to all sides, and bring people together. As Prime Minister, he became known for initiating the art

and skill of an orchestra conductor, in finding harmony among people of different views. From his first days in office, he took swift steps to put Japan on firmer economic ground, and also gave strong support to the cause of peace – from Kosovo to East Timor.

He worked in ~~countless ways~~ ^{solid} to strengthen our alliance, and to place it on a ~~new~~ ^{solid} foundation for the 21st Century. He believed ardently, as I do, in a U.S.-Japanese partnership built upon mutual respect and shared values of democracy, human rights, and economic freedom. He believed strongly, as I do, that the friendship between our peoples must remain the cornerstone of stability in East Asia. ~~That is a belief that Prime Minister Mori shares.~~ Today, ^{we} ~~in~~ our meeting together ~~Prime Minister Mori and I~~ ^{we} reaffirmed our desire to address all the issues affecting our two countries in a spirit of true friendship – today, tomorrow, and forever.

Prime Minister Obuchi touched hearts around the world in simple, human ways. I understand that he used to make up to 50 phone calls a day, often to people he didn't even know, just to hear what was on their minds, and see what was happening in their lives. We saw that human touch when he traveled to America last spring: when he threw out an unhittable pitch in Chicago to our slugger, Sammy Sosa; when he told us of the honor he felt meeting Robert Kennedy as a young man – and how greatly moved he felt at the dinner we hosted in his honor when he shared a table with Mrs. Robert Kennedy.

~~When early in his career~~
~~Early in his career~~, Prime Minister Obuchi competed for votes in the same district as two former prime ministers. ~~Thinking back on those times, he used to~~ ^a describe himself as a "noodle shop sandwiched between two skyscrapers." As usual, he was being ~~too~~ modest. As Prime Minister, Keizo Obuchi ^{represented to} ~~embodied before~~ the world the Japanese virtues of honor, loyalty, and determination. Our world today is a better place thanks to the life that he lived and the work that he did.

On his last visit to Washington, Prime Minister Obuchi gave me a beautiful painting – of Mount Fuji. He said that it was his firm determination to bring about a Japan worthy of that great and proud mountain. In the days and years ahead, let that hope be our ~~prayer~~ for all people around the world. Let the friendship between our two nations continue to be a force for peace and prosperity. Let us continue to work together to put humanity on the highest possible mountaintop at the start of a new century. In the end, that's the highest tribute we can pay.

*Joichi Mori
Crisis
religious
references
probably unwise*

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft William Jefferson Clinton remarks at the presentation of the Medal of Freedom to President James Earl Carter and Rosalynn Carter (18 pages)	08/08/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Medal of Freedom] [Folder 1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm614

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

8/8/99 3:00 pm

Orzulak

'99 AUG 8 PM3:34

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE PRESENTATION OF
THE MEDAL OF FREEDOM
TO PRESIDENT JAMES EARL CARTER
AND ROSALYNN CARTER
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
AUGUST 9, 1999**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-09-99

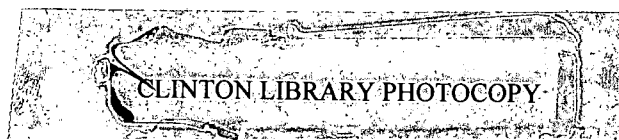
cc:

Josh

Gottheimer

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-09-99

President and Mrs. Carter; members of the Carter
family, which grew by one two weeks ago with the
 arrival of grandchild number 10, Hugo; Ambassador
 Andrew Young; Attorney General Janet Reno; Rep.
Bishop; ~~Rep. McKinney~~ ^{Rep. Lewis} ~~Rep. [redacted]~~ Mayor Bill
~~[redacted]~~ Campbell; Members of the Carter Administration:
 Stu Eizenstat; Jody Powell; Frank Moore; Jack
Watson; Jim Free; ^{Anne Edwards} the Carter Center Board of
^{John Harman, Exec Dir of Carter Center}
Governors; distinguished guests and friends.



8-09-99

To President and Mrs Carter; members of the Carter family, which grew by one two weeks ago with the arrival of grandchild number 10, Hugo; Members of Congress; Mayor Campbell; Members of the Cabinet; Members of the Carter Administration; the Carter Center Board of Governors; distinguished guests and friends.

Over the past few years, the President and Mrs. Carter have received many well-deserved awards. Rosalynn has received more than a dozen just from children's organizations.

8-09-99

President Carter has been knighted in Mali, made an honorary tribal chief in Nigeria and Ghana – and he's met at least three families in Africa who have named their newborn child "Jimmy Carter."

Hand sets to follow —

Today, on behalf of a grateful nation, it is my privilege today to confer America's highest civilian honor – the Presidential Medal of Freedom – on Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter.

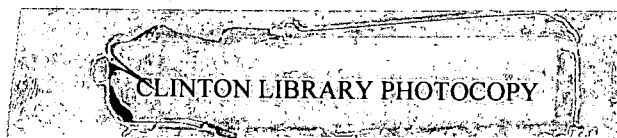
↳ Right above several ~~the~~ pages
was receipt of a searchable center
team —

↳ Am

Twenty-two years ago, when presenting this same award posthumously to Dr. Martin Luther King, then President Carter said: "there are many Americans who do great things, who make us proud of them and their achievements, and who inspire us to do better ourselves. But there are some among those noble achievers who are exemplary in every way, who reach a higher plateau of achievement." It is in that spirit that we look back on two extraordinary lives today.

In the past, this award has been presented to people who have helped America promote freedom – by fighting for human rights, or righting social wrongs, or empowering others to achieve, or extending peace around the world. But rarely do we honor two people who have devoted themselves so effectively to all of those things. Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter may have done more good things for more people in more places than any other couple on the face of the earth.

There have been other Presidents who have continued to contribute to the public good once they left office.



Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia.

John Quincy Adams returned to Congress, where he

for 8 terms
with Taylor
 fought slavery. But the work President Carter has
 done through this extraordinary Center to improve
 our nation and our world is unparalleled in American
 history.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 8-09-99

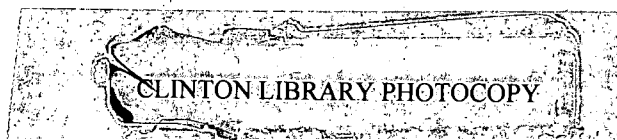
We've all gotten used to seeing pictures of President
 Carter building homes for people through Habitat for
 Humanity. But the full story lies in the pictures we
 don't see: of the 115 countries he has visited since
 leaving office, to end *and break* hunger and spread the cause of
 peace;

of the more than 20 elections he has helped monitor, where democracy is taking root thanks in part to his efforts; of the millions in Africa who are living better lives, thanks to his work to eradicate diseases like Guinea worm and river blindness; and of the dozens of political prisoners who have been released, thanks in part to letters he has written away from the public spotlight. I was proud to have his support when we worked together to bring democracy back to Haiti and

to preserve stability on the Korean Peninsula, and I am grateful for the many detailed, incisive reports he has sent me from his trips to troubled nations around the world, always urging understanding of their problems and offering advice, always outlining practical steps of progress.

~~But to look at the work of the Carter Center without
acknowledging the work of the Carter Administration,
or simply to call Jimmy Carter the greatest former
President in history,~~ ^{as many have} ~~doesn't do justice.~~ ^{him or his work. For the Carter} ~~This~~ Center is
not a new beginning, but a continuation of ^{the Carter} his
Presidency. ^{The work Pres Carter did in four} ~~The work President Carter did in four~~
~~years as our 39th Chief Executive~~ ~~not only broke~~
important new ground – it is still playing a large role
in shaping the world we live in today.

One of the proudest moments of my life was the day
Yitzhak Rabin and Yassir Arafat shook hands on the
South Lawn of the White House.



That day was made possible by the courage of the people of the Middle East. But it was also made possible by another handshake nearly 20 years before, and the persistence of President Carter as he brokered the Camp David Accords. I know it is a source of pride for him that 21 years later, not a word of that agreement has been violated.

Talk to any elected leader in Latin America today, and they will tell you that the stand President Carter took for democracy ^{thus} put America on the right side of history in our hemisphere.

**He was the first President to put America's
commitment to human rights squarely at the heart of
American foreign policy. Today, more than half the
world's people live in freedom, not least because he
had the faith to lend America's support to brave
dissidents like Sakharov, Havel, and Mandela. And
there were thousands of less well-known political
prisoners languishing in jails in the 1970's who were
sustained by a smuggled news clipping of President
Carter championing their cause.**

*Pres. Ken's sk- crisis
PresC for saving his life*

President Carter's resolve on Salt II -- even though it was never ratified -- helped constrain the arms race for a full decade, and laid the groundwork for the dramatic reduction^s in nuclear weaponry we are bringing about today. By normalizing relations with

China, he began a dialogue which holds the promise of

avoiding a new era of conflict & creating a future of cooperation
~~a better future for all of our people.~~ *this is the goal we must pursue*

Here at home, his work on deregulation helped free up

~~the~~ competitive forces that *continued to strengthen* ~~have made~~ our economy

~~strong.~~ His work on conservation -- particularly the

Alaska Lands Act -- ~~accelerated~~ a process that has

created the cleanest air and water in a generation.

His advocacy of energy conservation & clean energy will become even larger in the years ahead as our nation and our world come to grips with the challenge of climate change.

And by hiring more women and more minorities than
any other Administration to that point, he set a
shining example *of the the American we all long to live in.*

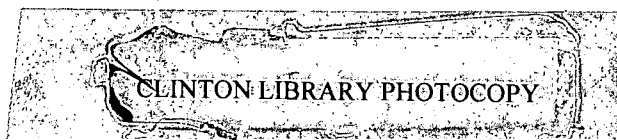
Thirty
~~But that wasn't the only example set by the Carter~~
years,
~~Administration.~~ Rosalynn Carter brought vision,
compassion, and tireless commitment *to the cause she championed* ~~as First Lady.~~ *addressed.*

Just as Eleanor Roosevelt will be remembered for her
work on human rights; ~~and Lady Bird Johnson will~~
~~be remembered for her work on beautification;~~

Rosalynn Carter will always be remembered as a
pioneer on mental health and a champion of children.

For more than thirty years, Mrs. Carter has made it her mission to erase the stigma surrounding mental illness. As the First Lady of Georgia, she used to travel dusty back roads to meet with people, and volunteered her time at a state hospital. She took what she learned to the White House, where she chaired the President's Commission on Mental Health with style and grace. ^{Afterward} ~~In the days since~~, she initiated the Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health Policy – and has worked to promote action on mental health worldwide.

We have made some progress in our
time, thanks to TGS efforts, in extending our
for MH + in building public support for understanding
+ support for further action —



Roslyn's
Thanks to ~~her~~ work, I believe we will see the day when
mental illnesses are treated just like any other illness –
and covered just like any other illness. *We have made
some progress*

We also owe Rosalynn Carter our gratitude for her
efforts to ensure that all of our children are
immunized. Two decades ago, she helped America see
that while many vaccines were being discovered, too
few children were being vaccinated. She traveled
across the country, and became so recognized as a
leader on immunization ~~that~~ people used to joke that
every time she showed up, the kids would start to cry –
because they knew somebody was going to get a shot.

8-09-99

Her work inspired President Carter to launch a nationwide campaign to immunize all children by the time they enter school – an effort we have built on.

She still travels tirelessly today to ensure that every child is immunized by age two. *Thanks to her previous work, we have been able to get every child immunized for 15 years.* We saw that same

commitment in her work to organize relief for

Cambodian refugees. And there are very few people who have worked harder to ensure that women get an equal day's pay for an equal day's work.

The extraordinary partnership between Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter has remained strong for more than 50 years.

To see it merely as a political journey tells only part of
 the story. At its heart, ^{their} ~~this~~ has been a journey ^{of love and} of faith,
~~and~~ in many ways, this Center has been their ministry.

In his book, Living Faith, President Carter recalls a
 sermon that says when we die, the marker on our

grave has two dates -- the day we're born ~~and~~ the day
 we die -- and a little dash in between. ^{Representing our life on earth.} It ~~might seem~~
^{To God, the tiny dash is everything --}
~~like a tiny dash to us, but with God, it is everything.~~

~~That little dash represents our life here on earth.~~



By doing ^{justly} justly, loving ^{mercifully} mercifully, and walking

humbly with their God, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter

are still living their faith, and still making the most of

that dash in between. ^{What a dash it has been} ~~Someday, when their two-week~~

~~old grandson grows up and goes to school, his~~

~~generation may never know how much it owes to~~

~~Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter.~~ ^{It will be hard} ~~As hard as it would be~~

for any historian to chronicle all ~~that~~ the good work

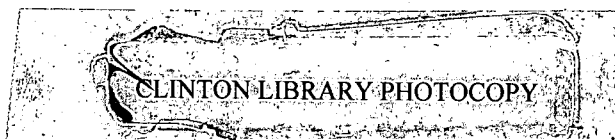
^{to R Carter} ~~they~~ have done, it will be impossible to chronicle all

the good works they have inspired. Today, a grateful

nation says thank you.

4 Commander, read the citation.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. press release	re: Comments concerning President Clinton's remarks at the presentation of the Medal of Freedom to President Carter (6 pages)	08/09/1999	P5
002. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks at the presentation of the Medal of Freedom to President James Earl Carter and Rosalynn Carter (18 pages) <i>Dup. of jn 614.002</i>	08/08/1999	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Medal of Freedom] [Folder 2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm615

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

August 9, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,
PRESIDENT CARTER AND MRS. CARTER
AT THE MEDAL OF FREEDOM PRESENTATION

The Carter Center
Atlanta, Georgia

7:05 P.M. EDT

PRESIDENT CLINTON: President and Mrs. Carter, members of the Carter family, including grandchild number 10, Hugo, who's right outside -- (laughter) -- members of the Cabinet who are here, friends of the Carters, Mr. Mayor. Let me say to all of you what a great pleasure it is for me to be here today. I flew down on Air Force One today with a number of former Carter administration members who many of them are in our administration, many others are mutual friends, and we relived old stories.

I remember in 1974, Governor Jimmy Carter had a role in the Democratic Party and he was trying to help us all win elections. And I was running for Congress and he sent Jody Powell to Northwest Arkansas to help me. I should have known something was up. (Laughter.) Thank goodness he failed and I lost that election. (Laughter.)

In 1975, Jimmy Carter came to Arkansas to give a speech, met with me and my wife and others and we signed on. In 1976, my home state was the only state besides Georgia where President Carter got more than 65 percent of the vote. So it's a great personal honor for me to be here today.

Over the past several years, the President and Mrs. Carter have received many awards, all of them well-deserved. Rosalynn has received more than a dozen just from children's organizations alone. President Carter has been knighted in Mali, made an honorary tribal chief in Nigeria and Ghana. There are at least three families in Africa he's met who have named their newborn child Jimmy Carter. (Laughter.)

Now these are hard acts to follow. (Laughter.) But today, it is my privilege, on behalf of a grateful nation, to confer America's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, on Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter.

Twenty-two years ago, when presenting this same award posthumously to Dr. Martin Luther King, President Carter said, "there are many Americans who do great things, who make us proud of them and their achievements, and who inspire us to do better ourselves. But there are some among those noble achievers who are exemplary in every way, who reach a higher plateau of achievement."

It is in that spirit that we look back on two extraordinary lives

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Goal: talk about Carter -
Confirming Presidency
Highlight Clinton
Relations not been
great

Sometimes -
prompt

Director of
Carter
Center

Usually applause
Gore does this
most

Research in library
Siegel wrote?

today. In the past, this award has been presented to people who have helped America promote freedom -- by fighting for human rights, or righting social wrongs, or empowering others to achieve, or extending peace around the world. But rarely do we honor two people who have devoted themselves so effectively to advancing freedom in all those ways. Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter have done more good things for more people in more places than any other couple on the face of the earth. (Applause.)

To be sure, there have been other Presidents who have continued to contribute to the public good once they left office: Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia; John Quincy Adams returned to Congress for eight terms and fought slavery; William Howard Taft became Chief Justice.

But the work President Carter has done through this extraordinary Carter Center to improve our nation and our world is truly unparalleled in our nation's history. We've all gotten used to seeing pictures of President Carter building homes for people through Habitat for Humanity. But the full story lies in pictures we don't see, of the 115 countries he's visited since leaving office, to end hunger and disease and to spread the cause of peace; by the more than 20 elections he's helped to monitor, where democracy is taking root, thanks in part to his efforts; of the millions in Africa who are living better lives thanks to his work to eradicate diseases like Guinea worm and river blindness; of the dozens of political prisoners who have been released, thanks in part to letters he has written away from the public spotlight.

I was proud to have his support when we worked together to bring democracy back to Haiti and to preserve stability on the Korean Peninsula. I am grateful for the many detailed, incisive reports he has sent to me from his trip to troubled nations all across the globe, always urging understanding of their problems and their points of view, always outlining practical steps to progress.

To call Jimmy Carter the greatest former President in history, as many have, however, does not do justice either to him or to his work. For, in a real sense, this Carter Center is not a new beginning, but a continuation of the Carter presidency.

The work President Carter did in those four years not only broke important new ground, it is still playing a large role in shaping the world we live in today. One of the proudest moments of my life was the day in 1993 when Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands on the South Lawn of the White House. That day was made possible by the courage of the people of the Middle East and their leaders, but also by another handshake 20 years before, and the persistence of President Carter as he brokered the Camp David Accords. I know it is a great source of pride for him that, 21 years later, not a word of that agreement has been violated. (Applause.)

If you talk to any elected leader in Latin America today, they will tell you that the stand President Carter took for democracy and human rights put America on the right side of history in our hemisphere. He was the first President to put America's commitment to human rights squarely at the heart of our foreign policy. Today, more than half the world's people live in freedom, not least because he had the faith to lend America support, to brave dissidents like Sakharov, Havel and Mandela. And there were thousands of less well-known political prisoners languishing in jails in the 1970s who were sustained by a smuggled news clipping of President Carter championing their cause. His role in saving the life of the President of South Korea, President Kim, is well known.

CLINTON-LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Q: ~~Q: 10:10~~
Sound bite

Research
Pres added back-
WHT

Point: more than the

Carter Center,

- had actual letters-

Rosalyn: Better go
away guinea
worm. JC

"Is coming."

* Theme
Jody Powell

Clinton most proud

- Powell

Eisenstat -
Domestic, now
Treasury

SRB

His resolve on SALT II, even though it was never ratified, helped to constrain the arms race for a full decade and laid the groundwork for the dramatic reductions in nuclear weaponry we see today. By normalizing relations with China, he began a dialogue which holds the promise of avoiding a new era of conflict and containment and, instead, building a future of cooperation with the world's most populous nation.

Carter,
also Clinton

→ read Clinton text

Here at home, his work on deregulation helped free up competitive forces that continue to strengthen our economy today. His work on conservation, particularly the Alaska Lands Act, accelerated a process that has created the cleanest air and water in a generation. His advocacy of energy conservation and clean energy will loom even larger in the years ahead as our nation and our world finally come to grips with the challenge of climate change. And by hiring and appointing more women and more minorities than any other administration to that point, he set a shining example of the one America we all long to live in. (Applause.)

Eisenstat

Reflected
glory

During the Carter years, Rosalynn Carter also brought vision, compassion, tireless energy and commitment to the causes she advanced. Just as Eleanor Roosevelt will be remembered for her work on human rights, Rosalynn Carter will always be remembered as a pioneer on mental health and a champion of our children.

Rosalynn -
Powell

For more than 30 years she has made it her mission to erase the stigma surrounding mental health. As First Lady of Georgia, she used to travel dusty back roads to meet with people and volunteered her time at a state hospital. She took what she learned to the White House, where she chaired the President's Commission on Mental Health with style and grace. Afterwards, she initiated the Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health Policy and has worked to promote action on mental health worldwide.

→ Lady Bird

We have made some progress in the last few years in extending health coverage and health insurance policies to mental health conditions, thanks in large measure to Tipper Gore's efforts; and in broadening public understanding and support for further action. It would not have happened if Rosalynn Carter hadn't done what she did first. (Applause.) Thanks to her work, I believe we will see the day not too long away when mental illness is treated just like any other illness, and covered just like any other illnesses.

→ highlight Tipper
* Tipper Gore speech -
at dinner

Carter speech at dinner -
1979

We also owe her our gratitude for her efforts to ensure that all our children are immunized. Two decades ago, she helped America see that while many vaccines were being discovered, too few children were being vaccinated. She traveled across our country and became so recognized as a leader on immunization that people used to joke that every time she showed up, the kids would start to cry because they knew somebody was going to get a shot. (Laughter.)

Hillary

Her work inspired President Carter to launch a nationwide campaign to immunize all children by the time they enter school -- an effort we have built on. I can tell you that in the last two years, we can say for the first time in history, 90 percent of America's children have been immunized against serious childhood diseases. That would not have happened if Rosalynn Carter hadn't started this crusade more than two decades ago. (Applause.) We have seen this kind of commitment in all of her endeavors, from her work to organize relief for Cambodian refugees to her constant efforts to ensure that women get equal pay for equal work.

→ Powell

The extraordinary partnership between these two remarkable

Americans has remained strong for more than 50 years now. To see it merely as a political journey tells only part of the story. At its heart, those of us who admire them see their journey as one of love and faith. In many ways, this Center has been their ministry.

Great with -
2 books

In his book, "Living Faith," President Carter recalls a sermon that says, when we die, the marker on our grave has two dates: the day we're born and the day we die. And a little dash in between, representing our whole life on Earth, the little dash. To God, the tiny dash is everything.

from Living Faith -
article where Clinton
said he read book
twice

What a dash they have already made. (Applause.)

By doing justice, by loving mercy, by walking humbly with their God, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter are still living their faith, still making the most of the dash in between the numbers.

It will be hard for any future historian to chronicle all the good work they have done. It will be quite impossible for anyone to chronicle all the good works they have inspired in the hearts and lives of others throughout the world. Today, we do all we can; a grateful nation says thank you.

3, 2

Antithesis

Colonel, read the citation.

(The citation is read.) (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CARTER: Mr. President, I'm almost speechless with emotion for what you had to say and the generous way you said it. It's a real honor to have you here again, and to welcome you to the Carter Center, and to receive this award, really, on behalf of all the wonderful people who have worked with us for the last 22 years in the White House and more recently at the Carter Center.

Many of them are assembled here this afternoon for this ceremony, and I'd like to ask all of those with your spouses who have served with us to please rise and let President Clinton see who you are. (Applause.)

As President Clinton mentioned, Rosalynn and I have visited, now, more than 115 nations in the world. We've had a chance to learn about the people that we've visited. And we've seen in their eyes quite often despair, and hopelessness and fear, and a lack of self-respect -- quite often even fearful of their own governments.

We have learned in that time the intimate relationship that should exist between governments throughout the world and civilian organizations, non-governmental organizations like the Carter Center -- and, Mr. President, like the one that in a few months you'll be establishing for yourself and your wife. It's very important for us to realize that the intimate relationship between officials who serve people and the people's own organizations should be strong, and constant.

This afternoon, not only do we recognize the significance of this wonderful award, but it's especially meaningful to me to receive it from a leader who has pursued many of the same goals that were mentioned in the generous citation. Mr. President, you have demonstrated global leadership, often under the most difficult of circumstances, in your commitment to protect human rights, to bring peace to people who live in Bosnia and Kosovo, and in the Middle East -- and countries in Africa, which you and your wife have visited. And also to take the leadership among nations and working to alleviate human suffering.

You still have some months to go before you join our small fraternity laughter of former Presidents. (Laughter.) I might point out that all but one of us were involuntarily retired, Mr. President. (Laughter.) But I can assure you that it will be a different life and one that you are certain to relish. Each President of the United States is different from all the others, just as each citizen whom we have had the honor to serve is different from all of his or her neighbors. You'll make your own choices about what to do in your post-presidential years.

In order to utilize the literally indescribable influence and opportunities that you'll carry with you, having served as the leader of the greatest nation on earth, one of the easiest privileges of the future to visualize, and one of the fondest dreams is the right to privacy. In fact, early tomorrow morning, Rosalynn and I will be leaving Atlanta and flying with our fly rods out to meet some friends and to enjoy being with them in Colorado and Montana for a week or so. I can almost certainly say that we will not see a single news reporter in that entire time. (Laughter.)

Now, just imagine, Mr. President, you'll be able to play golf without any television, telephoto lenses focused on your stroke. Isn't that great? (Laughter.) But I think I have to warn you that there are some down sides to being out of office, as well. I understand that golfing partners don't give as many mulligans to ex-presidents as they do to presidents. (Laughter.)

Mr. President, Rosalynn and I hope that you and Hillary will find as much satisfaction and joy after you leave office as Rosalynn and I have found for ourselves. We left Washington in something of despair and embarrassment and disappointment and frustration. We didn't know what in the world we were going to do.

I was about the same age that you will be when you leave the White House. I found out from some of our friends at CDC that I still had 25 years of life expectancy left -- (laughter) -- what was I going to do with it? (Laughter.) And out of that has come the Carter Center, which has given us, in effect, a new life -- a life of pleasure and challenge and adventure, unpredictability about the future, intimate relationships with those who needed us, that I could never have had along with the official duties of the presidency.

We have formed intimate relationships with people in small villages in Africa and those hungry for freedom and democracy in Indonesia and in Haiti, as you mentioned, and in Paraguay and other countries. We've tried to bring them the blessings of America in a completely unofficial way, but in a personal way that will only come to you after you do leave your great office.

We look forward to working with both of you, Rosalynn and I do, after you establish your own foundation or your own center, or your own institution in the years to come, and become a fellow member of our small fraternity.

I thank you again for this honor. And I want to repeat, another time, how overwhelmed I've been with the words that you spoke -- as are many of the things that you've done in office, they are above and beyond the call of duty.

I accept this award on behalf of all of those assembled here, and those that couldn't come, who have worked side-by-side with us as

partners, both in Washington and here in the Carter Center.

It's now my pleasure to introduce someone whom I love and respect and cherish, and honor: my wife, Rosalynn. (Applause.)

MRS. CARTER: Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you, Mr. President, also for your kind remarks, and for this award. We are honored by the recognition of our work. And I say "work," but it really hasn't been work at all. Well, maybe a little work -- (laughter) -- when we were in the White House, and when Jimmy was Governor.

But we've always done the things that we wanted to do and the things that we enjoyed doing. And one of the things that you'll find different, Mr. President, when you're out of office, is that you'll have options. You'll be able to pick and choose the things that you want to work on; you won't have to take care of everything at one time.

And whatever you undertake can be gratifying, we can assure you of that. We've had wonderful experiences, whether working in the field of mental health, or with care-givers, or immunization programs, or visiting some of our Carter Center programs. It's gratifying, for instance, to go into a village in Africa where half of the population at least, and sometimes more, are lying on mats on the ground suffering from Guinea worm disease and go back maybe a year, maybe 15 months later, and nobody have a Guinea worm.

And once we went into a village that still had Guinea worm, and there was a ceremony and we were sitting under a shelter made from sticks and palm fronds with a great crowd in front of us. And I looked out, and there was a little girl holding up a sign that said, "Better go away Guinea worm, Jimmy Carter's coming." (Laughter.) Or visiting one of our agricultural programs and have the farmer come running out with tears down his cheeks saying, "My sons have come home from the city because now we can raise enough food to feed all our family right here." That's not work, Mr. President.

Well, Jimmy and I have been -- have had great opportunities. We've been very privileged. The American people have given us unlimited chances, unlimited opportunities, and we have wonderful friends who support our programs here at the Carter Center and make it possible for us to do things that we never would ever have been able to do. We thank all of them.

We're grateful to all of them. And we thank you, Mr. President, again, for this honor. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CARTER: That's the end of a beautiful program. Thank you all very much. We're going to leave now, and I want to express particularly my thanks to all of those who came from Washington and other places to be with us this afternoon at what, for me, is one of the most beautiful events of my life.

Thank you very much to you and to President Clinton. (Applause.)

END 7:30 P.M. EDT

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton remarks at the presentation of the Medal of Freedom to President James Earl Carter and Rosalynn Carter (18 pages)	08/08/1999	P5
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Draft or Jim 614.002

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Medal of Freedom] [Folder 3]

Jamie Metrailler

2008-0702-F

jm616

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	re: Personal real estate (1 page)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
002. email	To National Security Advisor from Cynthia L. Gire. Subject: SRB agenda for 4/12 June '00 trip meeting (2 pages)	04/11/2000	P1/b(1)
003. briefing paper	re: Upcoming military events (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm220

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Upcoming Military Events

Presentation of Commander-in Chief's Trophy to USAF Academy Football team (May 9, 2000):

- WHMO has an approved SP for this event
- Will be held here probably in the Rose Garden (weather permitting)
- President's involvement includes short remarks and a photo

Coast Guard Graduation (May 17, 2000):

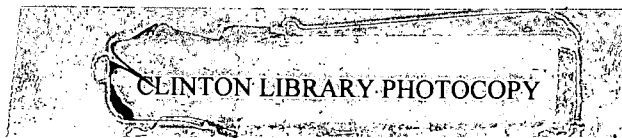
- NSC/Defense (Peterman) submitted the SP and it is approved.
- The President will give the commencement address and present diplomas to graduates.
- Possible message themes include:
 1. The challenges of building peace
 2. New threats
 3. Old threats -- Russia and China
 4. Defense Resources and Policy
 5. ~~Oceans: their importance to our future~~
 6. Foreign Policy Survey

Armed Forces Day (May 15, 2000):

- Usually SBTP only

Medal of Honor Event for Asian Americans (either around Armed Forces Day or in Hawaii en-route to Japan)

- WHMO has submitted a SP for an event to present the Medal of Honor to 22 Asian American recipients (one of whom is Senator Inouye)
- Schedule options include: a White House event around Armed Forces Day; and a proposal to do the ceremony in Hawaii in July when the President is en-route to Japan in July
The rationale for this date and location includes:
 - Many of the awardees are from Hawaii and more of their families and extended families could attend
 - This will be a large event due to the number of awardees (22 I believe) and if the East Room is used the number of guests each honoree could invite would be very limited (140 max for planning in that room). To move the event outside in May is questionable due to weather. WHMO and DOD are working through the options.
 - AF-1 must stop to refuel en-route anyway.
- Bob Tyrer is tracking this option for DOD.



- perhaps include some explanation as to who these people are -- i.e. what conflicts they were in -- and why they are getting MoH now
- Possible messages include: importance of Asian American contributions to the United States; historical impact of the military; foreign policy engagement. Also, Secretary Caldera has requested to tie the importance of military service into the event.

Memorial Day (May 29, 2000):

- DOD Event (no SP required)
- Presidential involvement is in the breakfast event at the White House followed by the wreath laying ceremony and speech at Arlington
- Possible messages: Sacrifice of troops.

Korean War Commemoration Opening Ceremony (June 25, 2000):

- DOD event with SP already in (Need follow-up discussion on which event s the President will attend that day. Recommendation is for President to do 4pm opening ceremony; VP to do wreath laying at Arlington in the morning; and a Presidential representative to go to Seoul for their event.)
- Presidential involvement as key speaker.
- Possible messages: Focus on Foreign Policy; sacrifice of soldiers in Korea; chance for North-South rapprochement today, but need for continued vigilance~~Historical and continuing ties to Korea (global engagement)~~

OPSAIL 2000 (July 4, 2000):

- Navy event; SP Already in (Phil??);
- Heads of State will attend (limited time available with POTUS)
- Presidential involvement in review of ships as well as speech.
- Possible message: Oceans are a place of increasing importance. Expect trade via oceans to increase in the next 10 years. Need to keep the International Law of the Sea in the forefront. Facilitates global economic growth; necessitates coalition support for protection. Are we sure this needs to be an oceans speech? I canvassed the idea of an oceans speech at Coast Guard in May with Ian, Fred and Brian, and they felt the policy was not ready.

CINC's Conference in September 2000:

- Probably mid-September
- President would travel over to Fort McNair and meet with the military Commander's-in-Chief. Involvement would be brief opening and closing remarks and in hearing the CINCs reports.

Education Event at DOD School (TBD)

- President said he wanted to visit a DOD school during the January CINCs conference.
- Needs to be considered in schedule (we have DOD location proposals to forward) FYI: If we're talking about DoD-run children's schools on bases, we have some good remarks on that to drw on -- from Osan, Korea, 1998

Veteran's Day (Nov 11, 2000)

- Presidential involvement is in the Veteran Service Organizations breakfast followed by an event at Arlington.
- Message: TBD.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	To National Security Advisor from Paul K. Orzulak. Subject: Draft SRB Dartmouth remarks (1 page)	03/01/2000	P5
001b. statement	re: Draft remarks by Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, at Dartmouth University (9 pages)	03/01/2000	P5
002. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Communications plan for your trip to South Asia (11 pages)	02/28/2000	P5
003. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Russia (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger. Subject: Communications plan for your trip to South Asia (9 pages) <i>dup. of 002</i>	02/25/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous Materials and Dartmouth] [1]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm218

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Sutphen, Mona K. (NSA)

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Wednesday, March 01, 2000 11:49 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters
Subject: Draft SRB Dartmouth Remarks [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB:

Here's a draft of your Dartmouth speech. Based on the remarks you gave last month in Delaware, with updated language in every section, including new paragraphs on India and Cyber-Security. Also, a new beginning and a new ending geared toward students. Still a bit long -- we're looking for cuts.

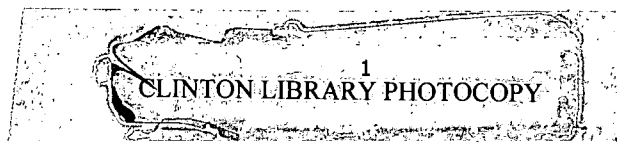
The Russia section includes much of the language from Tom's notional Russia statement that he sent up to you earlier this week. Do you want to do it here, or save it for something else? If you do it here, it may make news. Or will it seem like you are distancing yourself from the President?

One other question: since Russia, China, and India are on the front pages so often these days, we could simply turn this speech into an expansion of point #1, and give due time to issues like Chechnya, China WTO, and the President's upcoming trip to India.

Changes to Orzulak. Thanks.



dartmouth-srb2.2x.doc



3/1/00 11:45 a.m.
Orzulak

SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
"FOUR CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN LEADERSHIP"
DARTMOUTH UNIVERSITY
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
MARCH 3, 2000

On the day he received an honorary degree in New Haven, Connecticut, John Kennedy said he had the best of all possible worlds: a Harvard education and a Yale degree. I come here today bearing slightly different Ivy League credentials: a Cornell education, a Harvard degree, and a Dartmouth tuition payment.

As I tell my son ~~Alex~~^{him}, who is a ~~proud~~^{me} member of the class of 2002: one of the nice things about being part of an Administration that has helped create 20 million new jobs is that it's going to be awfully hard for ~~you~~^{me} to convince ~~your~~^{he} parents that ~~you~~^{he} can't find ~~at least~~ one.

I am proud to be part of the Dickey Center's lecture series on war and peace. This is the second time in three years I have had the pleasure of being here. As I said during my last visit, we live in a world with very few absolutes. I'm reminded of the linguistics professor who told his class, "remember, a double negative forms a positive. In some languages, such as Russian, a double negative is still a negative. But there is no language where a double positive forms a negative." At which point, a voice from the back of the room piped up: "Yeah . . . right."

As we think about the issues of war and peace at the beginning of the 21st Century, I believe there is one absolute in the world today: America must lead. I want to talk for a few minutes today about why that is true and where our leadership is likely to meet some of its greatest challenges in the years to come. Then, I look forward to having a discussion with you.

With much fanfare, we recently said goodbye to a Century in which America sent its sons and daughters further and more often from its own shores to fight for freedom than any nation in history. In the 20th Century, millions of American men and women – including more than x names that are inscribed across campus on x wall [NOTE: Still checking facts]– worked to defeat fascism, contain communism, and sustain liberty when it was most imperiled.

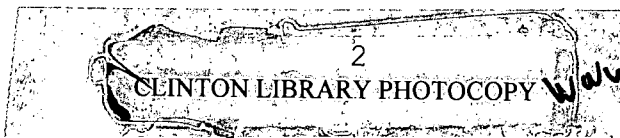
Thanks in no small measure to their sacrifice, we enter a new Century with our values ^(and) of freedom, democracy, enterprise ascendant and America's power and influence perhaps greater than it has ever been. Today, for the first time in history, more than half the world's people elect their own leaders. For the first time in history, the world's leading nations are not engaged in a deadly struggle for security or territory.

~~And~~ America today is in a unique position. Our military strength is unchallenged, and nations look to us to deliver decisive influence wherever it is needed. Our economy has not only produced unprecedented prosperity here at home; it is the engine of global growth and technological innovation. We are home to the world's eight biggest high-tech companies ^{-- themselves larger than the economy of (x country) --} and half the world's computers. People from around the world look to our open, creative society as a model of what it takes to succeed in a globalized world.

Tom Kralil

It means that we have a remarkable opportunity to advance the cause of peace, prosperity, and freedom for our nation and people around the world. But it also means that our leadership is needed across the globe, perhaps now more than ever before. (2801)

The President has worked hard over the past seven years to make sure we seize that opportunity, and meet that responsibility. America has a lot to be proud of. We've aided the remarkable transitions to free-market democracy in central Europe; helped open our core alliance NATO to new democracies; stopped ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; worked with Russia to deactivate thousands of nuclear missiles; helped broker historic peace agreements from Northern Ireland and the Middle



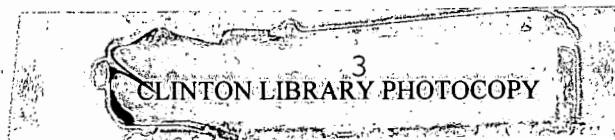
www.nva.ie

East, to Sierra Leone and the Peru-Ecuador border; and signed more than 270 trade agreements *completed a global trading agreement* *and* *several* *hundred* *specific* *agreements* *that* *have* *fed the export boom that now accounts for 1/3 jobs in America.* *that have opened markets and raised living standards here at home.* We've also worked to refocus our national security strategy on ~~the~~ *in* new dangers of a new age: the organized forces of crime, narco-trafficking, cyber-terrorism, and governments too weak to handle globalization.

The beginning of a new ~~millennium~~ *century* should cause us to reflect on the larger purpose of ~~that~~ *our* leadership. For we are experiencing something more than just a changing of the digits on the calendar; this has been a genuine changing of the times – a period of collapsing empires, expanding freedoms, eroding barriers, and emerging threats. The question now is: what do we do with the opportunity we have? What are the really big challenges facing us at the beginning of the 21st Century? What fundamental, long-term questions will affect the success of our foreign policy in this new era? Let's go through a few.

One critical question is whether the leading nations of the world will emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States. These are the nations most able, by virtue of their size, power, and economic potential, to affect our interests, for better and for worse.

For all the problems it has experienced, Russia will certainly remain one of those countries. Our engagement with a democratic Russia has produced concrete results over the last seven years. More than 5,000 Soviet nuclear weapons have been dismantled. Russian troops have withdrawn from the Baltic nations. Russia helped end the conflict in Kosovo, and now helps to defend the peace there alongside NATO. Russia is a profoundly different country today than it was a few years ago. When President Yeltsin resigned on New Year's eve, for example, Russia saw the first constitutional transfer of power in its thousand-year history. But the question that matters to us has never been who rules Russia, but how Russia is ruled.

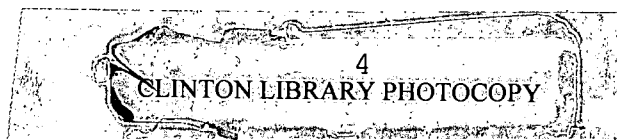


It is partly for that reason that we have been so troubled by the way force has been used in Chechnya, with indiscriminate rocket and artillery attacks against civilian neighborhoods, and now serious allegations of human rights abuses by Russian troops. Russia has experienced terrible acts of terrorism in the last year. But I am concerned about what kind of country Russia is going to be if its response to the destruction of apartment buildings full of innocent Russian citizens is the destruction of a city full of innocent Russian citizens.

We've made clear to Russia that the most recent reports of abuses in Chechnya offer an opportunity it should seize to show that it takes its own laws and international obligations seriously: by investigating all credible allegations in ~~a transparent~~ ^{an open and} unbiased way; by holding those ~~who may be responsible~~ ^{people} accountable; by letting international observers back in, and by giving the Red Cross full access to Chechnya, including detention camps. And we have urged Russia to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution to this tragic crisis.

Another country that will do much to shape the future of our planet is China. For 30 years now, every single President has worked for the emergence of a China that contributes to the stability of Asia; that is open to our products and our businesses; that allows people access to ideas and information; that upholds the rule of law at home and adheres to the rule of law around the world. The reason is simple: as a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, we have a big stake in how China evolves. The more we can promote peace and security in Asia, the more we promote our own peace and security.

To advance all of those goals, we signed an agreement last fall to bring China into the World Trade Organization. It is not going to change China or our relationship with that country overnight. We are going to have to continue to press China hard on everything from human rights, to nuclear proliferation, to tensions with Taiwan. But the agreement is a huge step in the right direction.



It requires China to open its markets on everything from agriculture to manufacturing, while we simply agree to maintain the market access we already offer China. It will obligate China to ~~speed the demise of~~ ^{dismantle} its command and control economic system in a way that will get the government increasingly out of its people's lives – while committing China to play by the international rules of the road on trade. It will bring the internet to millions more people in China, making it harder for the government to control what people read, learn and think. But the ~~only way to lock in the benefits of this agreement is for Congress to establish~~ ^{to provide China what 132 other WTO members have --} Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China. I believe this will be the most important vote this Congress will cast this year, and ~~the President is~~ ^{we are} doing all he can to get it passed.

Right now, China is the world's largest nation. Soon, it will be surpassed by India. India is the world's largest democracy. It is forging a vibrant, high-tech economy. It is living proof that nations forged from many faiths and traditions can be held together by the glue of freedom. But India's challenges are immense: it has the world's largest middle class, but also more desperately poor people than in all of Africa; a spreading AIDS epidemic; environmental difficulties; and an intense and now nuclearized rivalry with Pakistan. In many ways, the character of the 21st Century will depend on the success of our cooperation with India for peace, security and economic development. That is why, in a little more than two weeks, President Clinton will be our first President in 22 years to visit India, to cement and strengthen our relationship for a new century.

A second question for our future is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts that pose the risk of a wider war, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions.

Thanks to the men and women of our armed forces, we turned the tide last year against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. We should be proud that, in the final year of the bloodiest century of all, America led its allies to stand up against the expulsion of an entire people from their land, and

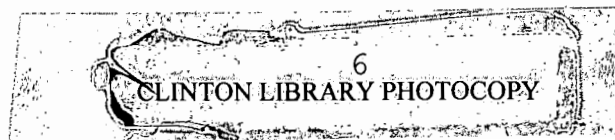


we prevailed. There is a great deal more we must still do to realize our vision of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe: helping Kosovo rebuild while continuing to clamp down on violence; bolstering the democratic opposition to Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia; encouraging greater cooperation between Greece and Turkey and an end to the long dispute over Cyprus; helping more new democracies get ready for membership in NATO. If we're persistent, we may one day reach a time when no American will ever again be ~~asked~~ ^{called upon} to fight and die in Europe.

We should also be proud of the role America has played to bring both Northern Ireland and the Middle East closer to peace. In both cases, we need a sense of realism and perspective; these conflicts have been raging hot and cold for decades; people have real grievances and bitter memories ~~to overcome~~. Peacemaking under these circumstances is like climbing a mountain, and the further we get, the steeper the ascent. ~~But we've never been so close to the summit as we are now.~~ ^{top} And the President is going to continue to work -- in both Northern Ireland and the Middle East -- to find a way forward.

A third question is whether the inexorable march of technology is going to give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force ~~us~~ ^{Americans} to live in fear again. _{their lives}

There has never been a time quite like this one in which the power to create knowledge and the power to create havoc rest in the same exact hands. We live in an age when one person sitting at one computer can come up with an idea, travel through cyberspace, and take humanity to new heights. But as we were reminded all too vividly just two weeks ago, we also live in an age when that same person can sit at the same computer, double-click on a mouse, hack into a computer system or overload a system's circuits, and potentially paralyze an entire company, city, or government. As our nation learns to master this new technology to do good, hackers, criminals, and potential adversaries could seek to disrupt our economy and damage our national



security by attacking our computer networks. That's why the President hosted a conference on this issue last week, and why we have proposed historic funding to strengthen cyber security.

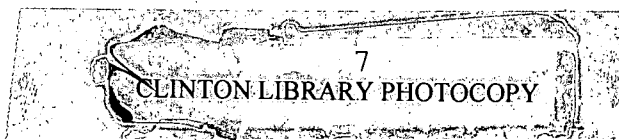
We must be persistent in our fight against all kinds of terrorism. The last weeks of 1999 saw the largest U.S. counter-terrorism operation in history. Terrorist cells were disrupted in eight countries and attacks almost certainly were prevented thanks to the good work of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies. *Part of we dodged a bullet, ... That is why we must sustain and intensify the fight against terrorists and that is why* We are ~~also~~ working to make it more difficult for weapons of mass destruction to fall into the wrong hands. In Russia today, the average salary of a highly-trained weapons scientists is less than \$100 a month. We can help them turn that expertise toward peaceful projects – or we can do nothing and pray that each and every one of them resists the temptation to market their expertise to those who wish us harm. *And?* That's why the President has asked Congress to increase funding for programs that help Russia keep its arsenal of weapons and knowledge secure.

We must also prevent potentially hostile nations like North Korea, Iraq, and Iran from obtaining weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them. And we've worked to strengthen global standards against the spread of deadly weapons, so that other nations stand with us when we need them. That's what the Chemical Weapons Convention was all about. It is my hope that we will be able to find common ground with the United States Senate, get the two-thirds vote we need, and ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as well.

Shan condensed, please. Should we drop?

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 20th Century will be threatened by an ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

~~As the President has said many times,~~ **I** It is unacceptable that in a world with so many riches, more than 1.2 billion people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year – many of them children – because they don't have clean



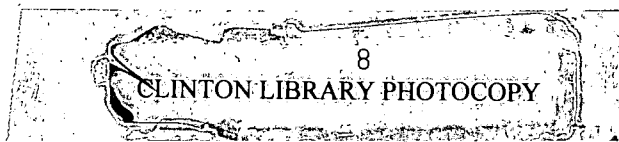
water to drink. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children have already died of AIDS. And it is not only morally unacceptable, it is economically unsustainable. It robs the world of the contributions of much of its population.

What can we do about this? Part of the answer is to promote freedom and good government, so that leaders are responsive to the needs of their people. And freedom is expanding: with the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell.

But even countries making all the right choices often have to struggle to benefit from the global economy. That's why the President has led a global effort to alleviate the crushing debt in so many nations. No country should have to choose between educating its children and paying interest on debt. It is also why we have begun a concerted effort to fight diseases such as AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, which are holding so many impoverished nations back. *Yesterday,* ~~this morning~~, the President hosted a meeting at the White House, in which one of America's leading pharmaceutical companies announced that for the first time, it would begin work on a vaccine for strains of the AIDS virus only found in Africa.

Finally, to fight poverty, we also have to work to expand trade. It's hard to see how people living on a dollar a day will ever be able to live in dignity if we deny them the chance to sell the fruits of their labor beyond their own borders. There are practices such as forced labor and egregious? child labor that the world should not tolerate. But we must also understand that, for the poorest countries, trade means growth and growth means improved working conditions. We don't want a race to the bottom in the international economy, but neither do we want to keep the bottom down. What we want is a steady march to the top that leaves no one behind.

*add
one
sentence
of trade
preceding
we and
drop
this one*



I began by saying that the one absolute in this world is that America must lead in meeting these challenges. But there is actually another one: all of you must be involved. Robert Kennedy once told my generation that "each of us will ultimately be judged – and will ultimately judge ourselves – on the extent to which we personally contributed to the life of this nation and to the world." Today, that challenge falls to all of you.

For more than 200 years, America has been shaped by its young. It was a 32 year-old Thomas Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and a 26 year-old Martin Luther King who led the bus boycott at Montgomery. But there has never been an age when young people have been more responsible for defining the world we live in. [Steve Jobs started Apple, Bill Gates started Microsoft, and Michael Dell started Dell Computers – when they were 21. By contrast, Mark Andressen and Jeff Bezos were old men when they launched Netscape and Amazon.com. They were both 22.]

One or two of those examples are fine, but I don't want to glorify young whiz kids of Silicon Valley as models of wonderful achievement. Such w/ public service. How old is Susan Rice? Who as a state runs Africa policy? Bob Malley, special asst to POTUS for Middle East; youngest member of Senate; began campaign manager for presidential candidate etc. etc.

Soon, it will be ^{up to you.} ~~your turn.~~ The education and training you ^{receive} ~~have received~~ at Dartmouth ^{has given} ~~has given~~ all of you a special responsibility. Take what you have learned here and change ^{some part of} the world. But at the same time, ^{I hope you will} ~~promise me this.~~ that you will strive to create a world that is not just better off but better; that you will judge success not by the number of computer networks you connect, but by the number of people you connect; that you will endeavor not just to make better companies but a better community of people around the world.

Just think: for all the billions of people who came before you, it has been left to this generation to ^{build upon} ~~secure~~ the triumph of freedom and justice, to walk away from war and hatred, and to walk toward peace. When historians look back on this Century, let them say that together, that is exactly what ^{you} ~~we~~ did. Thank you.

Clinton when he began youngest member of Senate; began campaign manager for presidential candidate etc. etc.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning Okinawa speech (2 pages)	n.d.	P5
002. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning Okinawa speech (2 pages) <i>Dep. of 001</i>	n.d.	P5
003. notes	re: Deliverables from Okinawa staff advance (2 pages)	07/18/2000	P5
004. notes	re: Internal meeting concerning Okinawa speech (2 pages) <i>Dep. of 001</i>	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

Okinawa Speech [2]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm617

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Peace Park - from our point of view, we should not say anything that destroys the hope that Okinawans have that they will eliminate or reduce the bases - key point

Governor's remarks - hope of Okinawan people - reaffirm - I hear the wishes of the okinawan people - that's why I instituted the process in 1995 --- reaffirm our commitment to people - acknowledge that we will continue to reduce the burden or footprint on local population - ask for your understanding in the maintenance of our presence here - we hope to engage with okinawan people in a broad range of cooperation

Stay away from base people's propoganda - all great stuff - don't get into peace park stuff - would not be received in the right way - cultural initiative to return stolen treasures - state department had written the fbi in help registering them - waiting for a reply from the FBI - education - list in front of us - has 5 items on it - dod seed money for the scholarships at east-west center - u md has decided to fund 3-4 scholarships on the base university - state has funded a link between mayo university and an american university in confrence on between two sites - possibility of highlighting the president's middle east peace initiative - to show the kinds of efforts we are making - that this type of effort could be made out here as well - rhetorical point

Fits right in - the digital summit - to make this a place where the connections - high tech and communications, make it a crossroads for Asia - cultural ties to japan and china - japan's gateway to asia for digital technology - the prefecture has a development plan which emphasizes tourism and the information industry - had a fair amount of success attracting japanese call centers to set up here - our three companies are following japan's lead, moving operations down here - 20 over the past three years - the vary in size -

Hundreds of employees - area that makes sense economically - japanese speaking technologies - long-distance lines and the internet - no limits - a bit of a stretch that it will play some kind of role in asia - serving the japanese market - in okinawans mind, this is the link to the past - there are parts of okinawa that are south of parts of taiwan -

Also a few ideas that are not close to being deliverables - east-west center may be interested in setting up an asia pacific center - promote academic exchange -

Their culture is closer to southeast asia - play that gateway -

An event going on now in tomi goose-goo - the famous japanese interpreter spent some time back from america - not important enough to mention - going on during stay here - baseball tournament - memorial tournament with teams from fair haven, mass and other connected cities - going on, minor point - more specifics on the specifics

The spirit of okinawa -

as an opportunity, not a battle - not a conflict but a community

not just an offensive

tourism - promoting nontraditional forms of tourism - coral reefs here -

Honoring the spirit of this place - deliverables, cooperation and culture

Let me say to people in the us and around the world who will see this tonight on television, this is a wonderful country. Come here and help Okinawa help build the future.

Other Possibilities: (Most of these are not really even close to being deliverables and would likely not be candidates for mentioning--just worthy ideas.)

--The USG might consider approaching the GOJ to cooperate in the establishment of a national park in the portions of the Jungle Warfare Training Center to be returned under SACO. The International Visitor Grant mentioned above was one step which would assist in this endeavor. The main additional step would be USG agreement to return the JWTC SACO land early in order to facilitate quick establishment of the national park. The main impediment to doing so is the SACO requirement to relocate several helipads from the areas to be returned to the remaining areas of the JWTC. Controversy over the environmental impact of the construction of these helipads could potentially impede smooth execution of the return. One possible way to break the logjam would be if the Marines could agree to reduce the number of helipads to be relocated or change the relocation sites to less sensitive areas. I have informally asked the Marines if they might consider such a step, but have not yet received their response. Please note we have not proposed this idea to the GOJ nor has the GOJ made any decision whether it would support designating the area as a national park, although the proposal to do so is under serious consideration, and has strong support from the Japanese Environment Agency.

--The USG could consider supporting an investment mission by U.S. firms to Okinawa. In light of the success of the investment seminar the Consulate General supported last summer in Tokyo, it appears that telecommunications and multimedia services, such as call center development is indeed the most promising sector on which to focus. Firms which would most likely be interested are those with planned or existing investments in Japan whose businesses have a need for extensive back office operations or remote customer service support. Examples include financial services, on line retailers, or computer/software services. For such operations, Okinawa provides an excellent low cost alternative to locating in major metropolises such as Tokyo or Osaka.

--The University of Maryland is considering adding an MBA program to its existing curriculum and offering additional space for interested Okinawan students.

5/5

--The East-West Center is also considering cooperating with Okinawan educational institutions in a broad program of academic exchange, including possible assistance in establishing an institution for academic exchange between Okinawa and Southeast Asia.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	re: Portugal and southeast Europe (3 pages)	05/09/2000	P1/b(1)
002. briefing paper	Issue Paper: U.S.- Portugal Cooperation (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003. briefing paper	re: Foreign Sales Corporation (FSC) WTO case (3 pages)	05/31/2000	P5
004. briefing paper	Background Paper: Portuguese Domestic Situation (2 pages)	05/09/2000	P1/b(1)
005. fax	re: Personal real estate (11 pages)	05/25/2000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Portugal] [2]

Jamie Mettrailer

2008-0702-F

jm224

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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FOREIGN SALES CORPORATION (FSC) WTO CASE

Background

Treasury Deputy Secretary Eizenstat presented a proposal for complying with the adverse WTO decision on the FSC in a May 2 and 3 visit to Brussels, Paris, and London. Eizenstat emphasized that the proposal, which would repeal the FSC regime and replace it with an elective tax regime, has bipartisan support within Congress and within the business community. He said the U.S. intends to implement the recommendations and rulings of the WTO in a manner that respects our WTO obligations and is consistent with ensuring that U.S. exporters not be placed at a disadvantage. By stressing that there is a high probability of enactment by the October 1 WTO deadline, Eizenstat drew an implicit comparison with the EU, which is long overdue in complying with rulings on beef hormones and bananas. Eizenstat said that we seek a quick response given the October 1 deadline and the little time remaining in Congress' shortened legislative calendar.

The new elective tax regime in the U.S. proposal would apply to non-export sales and would therefore respond to the WTO Appellate Body decision that ruled the FSC a prohibited export subsidy. The number of beneficiaries under the new regime could be 2/3 higher than under the FSC.

In presenting our proposal, we emphasized to the EU that, if we cannot reach agreement quickly, resolution of the FSC dispute would likely be delayed until well into a new administration, with potentially serious adverse consequences for U.S.-EU relations and the WTO system. We also noted that we could go ahead legislatively without EU concurrence and reminded the EU that there are several options we maintain for bringing damaging WTO cases against the EU.

Preliminary indications from the EU indicate that the initial response to the U.S. proposal will not be positive. Concerns are likely to be raised as to whether the new system will significantly expand beneficiaries beyond exporters and whether its local content rules are WTO-consistent. In short, the EU may argue that the proposed system too closely resembles the FSC. It is as yet unclear how serious the EU's objections are and to what extent the EU will deal seriously with us on the FSC. The U.S.-EU summit represents an excellent opportunity to assess EU intentions at the highest level and possibly to strike a final deal.

In addition to the FSC, other potential new U.S.-EU trade irritants are a possible WTO case to be launched against Airbus

subsidies by EU governments and the provision in the AGOA/CBI bill mandating rotation of products in U.S. trade retaliation lists ("carousel"). It will be important to manage these issues effectively; the EU may make connections among them even if we do not.

Talking Points

- Hope that the Commission can agree to the proposal put forward in Brussels on May 2.
- Urge you to encourage member state support for an early resolution as we need to introduce legislation by the middle of June in order to meet the October 1 WTO compliance deadline and our own legislative calendar.
- If we cannot reach agreement soon, likely that no agreement possible until well into the next administration. The consequences for U.S.-EU relations and the world trading system are potentially very serious.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 3 -

FSC Background Paper 05.31.00

Drafted:EB/DCT:JEMudge X7-1979

Cleared:EUR:CRies

EB/DCT:RWBoehme ok

EB/STA:ASibert ok

EB:BSamuel

EUR/ERA:GBurton ok

L/EB:KLoen (info)

E:JKessler ok

P:SWhite/DSields ok

D:PGoldberg (info)

USTR:DHunter (info)

Treas:KKornbluh ok

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft President William Jefferson Clinton press statement with Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and European Commission President Romano Prodi (3 pages)	05/24/2000	P5
002. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger and Stephanie Streett. Subject: Communication plan for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine (7 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. briefing paper	Issue Paper: Portugal and the European Union (3 pages)	05/08/2000	P1/b(1)
004. list	re: Possible deliverables / achievements for U.S. - E.U. summit (Annotations) (2 pages)	05/09/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4023

FOLDER TITLE:

[Portugal] [4]

Jamie Mettrailer
2008-0702-F
jm226

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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5/24/00 3:00 p.m.

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESS STATEMENT WITH
PRIME MINISTER ANTONIO GUTERRES
AND
EUROPEAN COMMISSION PRESIDENT ROMANO PRODI
LISBON, PORTUGAL
MAY 31, 2000**

I've been told that in preparation for the Lisbon Summit last March, Prime Minister Guterres and his team read more than 40,000 pages of reports. Now, I can't imagine that made his eye doctor very happy. After the meetings we've had together the past few days, I can assure you that his vision – both political and otherwise – have not suffered. I want to commend Prime Minister Guterres for the wonderful job he has done during his tenure as President of the European Union. And I am grateful to President Prodi, Commissioner Patten and High Representative Solana for all their contributions to transatlantic cooperation since our meeting last December.

It's remarkable to think how far we have come since Portugal's first EU Presidency eight years ago. Back then, people were predicting that NATO had lost its reason for being and would not endure; that Europe's new democracies would fail; that Russia would turn inward and reactionary; that Europe's project for a common currency and foreign policy would founder; and that the US and the EU would go their own ways.

Eight years later, we have not only preserved NATO, we have strengthened it by adapting the alliance to new missions, with new partners. Our common efforts have the new democracies of central Europe and the Baltics well on their way to joining the transatlantic mainstream. Russia, for all its difficulties, has just completed the first democratic transfer of power in its history. The EU has brought monetary union into being and has made a remarkably fast start at a common foreign and security policy – a policy that America strongly supports. Far from moving apart from one another, today we complete the 14th US-EU summit of my presidency.

By any measure, relations across the Atlantic today are stronger than ever, our cooperation is broader than ever, and prospects for the future are brighter than ever – but that doesn't mean we don't have work to do. Today, we made progress on a range of issues.

[I'd start with the security stuff, ideally]

We had a good discussion on ways to keep our economies growing in the age of globalization. Today, European companies are the largest investors in 41 of our 50 states. And US investment in Europe grew by seven times between 1994 and 1998 (Bernard, could you pls check EU website for a more up to date statistic?) [not sure these factoids flow logically from topic sentence. they belong more in graf about how strong and important our relationship is. Would be good here to reference the 'dot com' summit EU held that was led by Guterres and Blair, in which they agreed on policies very similar to our own: creating conditions for knowledge based economy to work; making economic reforms necessary to foster competiotn and innovation (i.e. deregulation and lower taxes and labor market flexibility); preserving social safety net (pension reform)- Free flowing disussion-at summit is tool for us to keep locking them into this

approach This morning, we reached agreement on several fronts that will help strengthen that relationship.

First, we agreed on an ~~safe harbor~~ initiative that will preserve the free flow of information across the Atlantic while ensuring that we meet the highest privacy standards. [by ensure that allow American companies who meet the EU's "safe harbor" high standards on privacy to access information about their European clients in a way that safeguards the privacy of European citizens.] Second, we completed the Protocol we began in Madrid on patent registration, which will allow American companies to register for patents once with the EU rather than separately in each country, saving up to two-thirds on costs. Third, building on work that we began in Washington last December, we are launching a new dialogue on biotechnology that will bring together scientists, farmers, and experts from both sides of the Atlantic around the issues of genetic engineering and agriculture.

On the security front, we agreed that the great construction project of our time -- our common goal of a peaceful, united, democratic Europe -- will not be complete until southeast Europe and Russia are truly part of the Foundation [as well as the inter-connecting structures not sure about this -- implies Russia in NATO and EU...]. Once again, I thanked the Prime Minister for the vital role that Portugal -- and particularly the Lajes Air Base -- have played in Kosovo, and the need for our continuing cooperation there, as well as our work together on the Stability Pact. We also discussed our common hopes that Russia continues to deepen its democratic and economic reforms and to find a political solution to the crisis in Chechnya -- a message that I will carry with me to Moscow later this week. [Need something on ESDP?

Finally, we discussed the need for continued leadership on challenges beyond our borders, particularly in Africa. Portugal and the United States led the international relief effort in Mozambique. One issue of dire importance is the tragedy of HIV/AIDS. Africa today has 70 percent of the world's AIDS cases. In some African countries today, companies are actually hiring two employees for every job, on the assumption that one will die of AIDS. In other African countries, 30 percent of teachers and 40 percent of soldiers have AIDS. Millions more suffer from malaria, and one-third of the world has been exposed to the bacteria that causes TB. These diseases can ruin economies and threaten the survival of entire nations.

In the Cairo Declaration last April, we pledged to work together to address these issues. Two weeks ago, I issued an Executive Order to help make AIDS drugs more available to people in poor countries by giving pharmaceutical companies the incentive they need to develop affordable vaccines to these horrible diseases. I am pleased that today, we have reached further agreement to strengthen research and development, commit greater resources, and raise public awareness in hopes of finding an end to this plague.

- commitment is essential ->

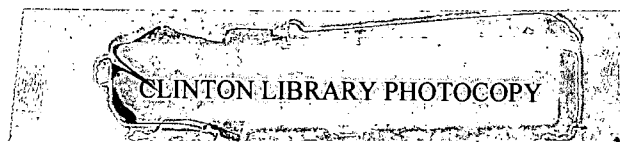
Some riff at end about imperative of working together/strong Europe good because the stronger each partner, the more effective the partnership]

Joint Shk

Not steel
US appreciates the leadership
role EU states as
pivotal in Kosovo
UN mission and
with Africa
keep pressure on
Milosevic from
within
Stability Pact
Clinton Library photocopy of mission -
Gulf of SE Europe Transatlantic

SE Europe → bulldozer -

we remain committed to them in Kosovo
mission -



4:50 PM05/09/00

POSSIBLE DELIVERABLES/ACHIEVEMENTS FOR U.S.-EU SUMMIT

Deliverable	Significance	Required Actions
SECURITY DELIVERABLES		
1) Statement on Southeast Europe/Stability Pact	Underscores progress and next steps on stabilizing/integrating SEE into European/trans-Atlantic mainstream; highlights progress on Kosovo, burdensharing; underscores support for Serb opposition.	U.S.-EU agreement on statement
2) Statement on Russia	Reaffirms common objectives for Russia's transformation, resolution of Chechnya	U.S.-EU agreement on statement
INFECTIOUS DISEASE/AFRICA		
3) Initiative on combating HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria in developing countries, especially Africa	Commitment to increase funding for international activities, increase public awareness, work together to develop and distribute vaccines and treatments.	Agree on specific details of initiative, and wording of joint statement
4) Joint statement on Africa famine	Cooperation to provide assistance to victims of famine in Horn of Africa, address infrastructure and other underlying problems	Agree language with EU
TRADE/ECONOMIC/S&T DELIVERABLES		
5) Establishment of Biotechnology Consultative Forum	Begins dialogue with EU (including civil society reps) aimed at gaining acceptance of genetically engineered products	Agree Forum participants and questions that Forum will address

4:50 PM05/09/00

6) Data Privacy Agreement	Ensures access by U.S. industry to EU consumer data (health firms, pharmaceuticals, telecom, airline, headhunter, media)	Need member states agreement by May 30
7) Joint statement on WTO Round (maybe)	Underscores commitment to resolving Seattle differences, launching new round	USTR/EU agree on forward-leaning statement that goes beyond December statement
8) Cooperation on creation of GDIN and MEDDIN (Global Disaster Information Networks) NO	Progress towards establishment of Global Disaster Information Network, focusing on Mediterranean component, for sharing of data on climate, topography etc. in response to natural disasters	State/EU to finalize language for joint statement
9) Madrid Protocol on Patent Registration between U.S. and EU	Registration of patent by U.S. companies in any signatory state will be recognized by all other signatory states.	Protocol has been initialed by both sides; U.S. Senate must ratify before it enters into force
10) Cooperation on sharing scientific information through high speed research networks 250	Enhancement of existing systems for exchanging and processing scientific data	Agreement between State and EU on wording for a joint statement